

Adamawa Primary Education Research

FINAL REPORT



US

University of Sussex

Centre for International Education

FOREWORD

This research report is an important milestone for educational development in Adamawa State. It marks the acknowledged need for educational policy and practice to be informed by research and evidence. Significantly, this refers to the need for understandings of the local conditions and perspectives of children, parents, carers, communities and administrators to supplement on-going collection and analysis of high-quality statistical data on education. Through this, the multiple elements of educational service provision may be shaped and directed to ensure that all children, and especially girls, achieve their rights to education, which will enable them to participate in and contribute to the development of their communities, Adamawa State and Nigeria.

The conception of this research started back in 2010 and work began immediately in Adamawa State Basic Education Board (ADSUBEB) and the Centre for International Education (CIE), University of Sussex, UK, to bring together the resources and capacity to support it. Over time, from inception to completion, there have been several twists and turns but the determination and support of ADSUBEB has seen this research project through to completion. This symbolises the continued resolve among education leaders in Adamawa to improve access, quality and outcomes of basic education within the state.

This research comprises deep case study research in six primary schools and their communities selected from each of the three senatorial zones in Adamawa using statistical data at school, LGEA, SUBEB and national levels. It involved a team of five researchers from Adamawa and Sussex in multiple visits to the six case study schools and communities, 34 classroom observations, attendance at ADSUBEB meetings and workshops, as well as individual or group interviews with over 260 people concerned with education and schooling across the case study sites and the state. In addition, quantitative data were collected from schools, ADSUBEB and national data sets, including EMIS and NDHS. In the main report these are all brought together through thematic analyses to provide key findings and recommendations that are presented to motivate and focus effort to achieve even better educational experiences and outcomes for the children, and especially girls, in Adamawa.

This preliminary research was intensive, ambitious and wide-ranging. It was based on a conceptualisation of quality educational provision as a co-operative effort by educational administrators, schools and communities. The communications, processes, practices and power dynamics within and between these three stakeholder groups provided a central focus for the research and analysis. Alongside this, there was a research focus on girls that has been supported by theoretical understandings that go beyond individuals to refer to gender relations and how they are enacted in local contexts. This understanding has enabled an analysis that can elaborate how different policies and practices impinge on access to school, experiences in schools and outcomes for girls and for boys, as well as for female and male personnel within the wider systems of governance and practice. Beyond the substantive findings, research capacity development was a key element of the research. The work of the cross-national team in developing understandings of the context and in doing and writing research represents enormous learning and this research capital is an important resource for the state and a potential that should be further exploited in the near future.

As a preliminary study the research touched on a range of concerns and produced findings that have been used as the basis for recommendations. These are elaborated in the main study and guided by principles of equity and inclusion at all levels within the system, and in particular indicate the need for substantial, gender-sensitive capacity building within educational

administration, schools and communities such that access to good quality teaching and learning in schools is made available and taken up by all children, and especially girls. In order to achieve this overarching objective the first series of recommendations focused on governance issues and include: the need for high quality data and monitoring and evaluation procedures to inform and shape policy; transparent governance systems for teacher appointment, promotion deployment and pay; targeted and responsive continuing professional development for LGEA officers and head teachers for M&E, teacher support, teacher management and community liaison; linking education with pupil health and welfare; infrastructural development of schools, classrooms, furniture, toilets, water and secure school compounds; and improved distribution of teaching resources irrespective of pupil capacity to pay. With specific reference to teaching and learning, two issues were highlighted for immediate policy attention. The first was language use (Hausa, other first languages and English) and the production of resources and texts to support it. The second was development of a code of practice around discipline and training in the use of incremental non-violent, non-physical and non-disruptive sanctions to guide pupil and teacher behaviour.

For schools, head teachers and teachers there were a range of recommendations that included working with parents and communities in the development and upkeep of a rich learning environment that is safe for pupils. Teacher management, support for pedagogical practice, gender awareness, a disciplinary code with both sanctions and rewards, and career development were underlined as vital to the achievement of the highest professional standards and improvements in school quality. These were seen as crucial for widening access, and improving school retention and the completion of all pupils. Other recommendations to improve quality and accountability and strengthen future school planning include: a system of pupil representation; concerted efforts at collaboration and communications with the community; encouragement for parents and community members to participate in the school and the full operation of the SBMC and PTA.

Notwithstanding the extensive and interwoven sets of recommendations that have been suggested through this study, it is important to acknowledge this as part of a turnaround in the state. Over recent years in Adamawa renewed attention has been focused on education, which has provided the impetus for a number of significant physical, policy and practice developments. The commissioning of this research is part of this and of an innovative approach that envisages the processes of educational development being informed by evidence derived from high-quality research. As such, this research report is more of a beginning than an end – the findings outlined by the research are now presented to the concerned and dedicated educators in ADSUBEB as we address the multiple challenges facing us in providing the right to education for all children in Adamawa. In addition to initiatives in policy, practice, consultation, communication and training, this will undoubtedly involve additional, focused research so that these innovations will be used in a cyclical process to inform future resource allocation and educational developments.

Dr Halilu Hamma

Executive Chair
ADSUBEB

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to acknowledge the contribution of many different people to the research reported here. In particular we want to thank the pupils and teachers in the case study schools, who welcomed the research team into their schools, and also the parents, community members and LGA personnel, who willingly engaged with the research. Without them this research would not have been possible. In addition we wish to thank many people in ADSUBEB headquarters in Yola. The officers and the Research Steering Group, headed by Dr Salihu Bakari, were invaluable for facilitating, informing and shaping the research. Their extensive knowledge, frank discussions and critical engagement throughout the research process were vital. There are several others who deserve special mention. Aliu Ibn Garba was extremely helpful in providing the most up-to-date statistical data and in helping us to collate and interpret them. His efforts were most appreciated. In addition, thanks are due to Jimena Hernández-Fernández and Ricardo Sabates for statistical analysis of the EMIS data. We are also grateful to Heather Stanley for her good advice and efforts in the presentation of the study and to Julie Farlie who provided administrative assistance in the early stages of the research. We also need to thank Abu Bakhar who drove us up, down and around Adamawa and Yola, and Khairat Abdul-Razak who made sure we had enough food and drink. Finally we owe a big ‘thank you’ to Mustafa Ahmad. He was vital to communications between the Adamawa and Sussex researchers and when we were all in Adamawa together for workshops and field visits he was our right-hand man, who saw to our every need. In particular, he helped make the team members from Sussex feel comfortable and very welcome in Yola, Adamawa and Nigeria.

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
ABBREVIATIONS	x
 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	 xi
 CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	 1
1.1 RATIONALE	1
1.2 CONTEXT	2
1.3 REPORT STRUCTURE	2
 CHAPTER 2 RESEARCH DESIGN	 3
2.1 INTRODUCTION	3
2.2 RESEARCH AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS	3
2.3 KEY CONCEPTS	4
2.4 DESIGN	6
2.5 SAMPLE AND METHODS	8
2.6 ANALYSIS	13
2.7 LIMITATIONS	16
 CHAPTER 3 NATIONAL CONTEXT	 18
3.1 INTRODUCTION	18
3.2 THE NIGERIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM	20
3.3 UNIVERSAL BASIC EDUCATION IN NIGERIA	21
3.4 ACCESS TO PRIMARY EDUCATION	24
3.5 FACTORS AFFECTING ACCESS TO PRIMARY EDUCATION IN NIGERIA	30
 CHAPTER 4 STATE EDUCATIONAL PROFILE	 36
4.1 INTRODUCTION	36
4.2 ADAMAWA STATE	37
4.3 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND IN ADAMAWA STATE	37
4.4 EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH	39
4.5 EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE	40
4.6 SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS	42
4.7 PRIMARY ENROLMENT	45
4.8 RECENT DEVELOPMENTS	54
4.9 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY & OUTCOMES)	55

CHAPTER 5 INFRASTRUCTURE	57
5.1 INTRODUCTION	57
5.2 SCHOOL AND CLASSROOMS	57
5.3 AMENITIES	59
5.4 THE SCHOOL COMPOUND AND SECURITY	62
5.5 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY & OUTCOMES)	65
CHAPTER 6 TEACHERS AND TEACHER MANAGEMENT	67
6.1 INTRODUCTION	67
6.2 APPOINTMENTS, QUALIFICATIONS AND DISTRIBUTION	67
6.3 TEACHER ROLES WITHIN SCHOOL	70
6.4 PAY AND CONDITIONS	70
6.5 SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT	71
6.6 TEACHER MANAGEMENT AND SUPPORT	73
6.7 TEACHER DISCIPLINE	74
6.8 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY & OUTCOMES)	77
CHAPTER 7 PUPIL MANAGEMENT	79
7.1 INTRODUCTION	79
7.2 SCHOOL REQUIREMENTS	79
7.3 THE SCHOOL DAY	82
7.4 DISCIPLINE	88
7.5 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY & OUTCOMES)	92
CHAPTER 8 TEACHING AND LEARNING	95
8.1 INTRODUCTION	95
8.2 CLASSROOM CONDITIONS	95
8.3 PEDAGOGIES	97
8.4 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY & OUTCOMES)	104
CHAPTER 9 SCHOOL–COMMUNITY RELATIONS	107
9.1 INTRODUCTION	107
9.2 COMMUNITY PROFILES	108
9.3 FAMILY PRACTICES	109
9.4 COMMUNITY REPRESENTATION AND ‘VOICE’ (PTAS AND SBMCS)	114
9.5 SCHOOL–COMMUNITY RELATIONS	117
9.6 LGEA INVOLVEMENT	119
9.7 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY & OUTCOMES)	120

CHAPTER 10 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	123
10.1 INTRODUCTION	123
10.2 EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION	123
10.3 SCHOOLS, HEAD TEACHERS AND TEACHERS	133
10.4. COMMUNITIES	141
REFERENCES	145
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX I CASE STUDY REPORTS	
APPENDIX II INSTRUMENTS	
APPENDIX III ANALYTICAL GRIDS	

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	Research design	7
Table 2.2	Case study sample	9
Table 2.3	Case study data collection plan	11
Table 2.4	Total respondents from all case studies	12
Table 2.5	Analytical grid headings	14
Table 3.1	Selected core welfare indicators, 2006	19
Table 3.2	Gender-disaggregated primary school enrolment (attendance) rates by wealth quintile, residence and geo-political zone	25
Table 3.3	Gender-disaggregated distribution of overage, under age and on-time pupils at primary level by grade and gender	26
Table 3.4	Gender-disaggregated repetition rates at primary level for each grade by wealth quintile, residence and geo-political zone	27
Table 3.5	Dropout rates at primary level for each grade by wealth quintile, residence, gender and geo-political zone	28
Table 3.6	Types of education for Muslim children aged 4–16 by wealth quintile, residence, gender and geo-political zone	29
Table 4.1	Gender-disaggregated education statistics in the North East	38
Table 4.2	Gender-disaggregated primary enrolments in the North East and Adamawa State	38
Table 4.3	Number of public and private schools by level in Adamawa State	42
Table 4.4	Public primary school teachers by gender and qualified status in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs	44
Table 4.5	Teachers in the case study schools	44
Table 4.6	Public primary enrolments in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs (2009–10)	45
Table 4.7	Estimated out-of-school children in Adamawa State	46
Table 4.8	Overage pupils by gender in selected case study schools (2007–2011)	47
Table 4.9	Public primary enrolments by gender in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs (2009–10)	48
Table 4.10	Enrolments by gender and religion in the case study schools (2010–11)	48
Table 4.11	Public primary enrolments by grade in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs (2009–10)	49
Table 4.12	Pupil–teacher ratio in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs	50
Table 5.1	Increase in the number of public primary schools in selected case study LGEAs in Adamawa State	57
Table 5.2	Classroom numbers and conditions in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs	58
Table 5.3	Availability of water in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs	60
Table 5.4	Teacher toilets in public primary schools in the case study LGEAs and Adamawa State	61
Table 5.5	Pupil toilets in public primary schools in the case study LGEAs and Adamawa State	61
Table 6.1	Ratio of qualified to unqualified teachers and gender in public primary schools in Adamawa State and in the case study LGEAs	68
Table 6.2	Number and percentage of qualified teachers and head teachers by gender in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs	68

Table 6.3	Pupil–teacher ratio in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs and schools	72
Table 7.1	Fees charged by the case study schools	80
Table 7.2	School timetables and pupil duties in the case study schools	82
Table 9.1	PTAs and SBMCs in the case study schools	115

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1	A relational framework for access	6
Figure 2.2	Case study data analysis	15
Figure 2.3	From case study to synthesis report	16
Figure 3.1	Roles and functions of different educational actors	21
Figure 4.1	Map of Adamawa State	36
Figure 4.2	Gross enrolments by grade for public and private schools in Adamawa State	46
Figure 4.3	School enrolments by grade in the case study LGEAs	50
Figure 4.4	Attrition rates in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs	51
Figure 4.5	Percentage of repeaters by grade in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs	52
Figure 4.6	Transition to JSS by gender in public schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs	53

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADSUBEB:	Adamawa State Universal Basic Education Board
CBN:	Central Bank of Nigeria
DFID:	Department for International Development
ECCE:	Early Childhood Care and Education
EDS:	Educationally Disadvantaged State
EFA:	Education for All
EMIS:	Education Management Information System
ESSPIN:	Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria
ETF:	Education Trust Fund
FGN:	Federal Government of Nigeria
FME:	Federal Ministry of Education
FRN:	Federal Republic of Nigeria
GBV:	Gender-based Violence
GAR:	Gross Attendance Ratio ¹
GEP:	Girls Education Project
GER:	Gross Enrolment Ratio ¹
GPI:	Gender Parity Index ²
ILO:	International Labour Organisation
LGC:	Local Government Council
MDG:	Millennium Development Goal
NAR:	Net Attendance Ratio ³
NBS:	National Bureau of Statistics
NCNE:	National Commission for Nomadic Education
NDHS:	Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey
NEDS:	Nigeria Education Data Survey
NER:	Net Enrolment Ratio ³
NERP:	Northern Education Research Project
NGO:	Non-Government Organisation
NMEC:	National Mass Education Commission
NPC:	National Population Commission
SAGEN:	Strategies for Acceleration of Girls' Education in Nigeria
SSA:	Sub-Saharan Africa
SUBEB:	State Universal Basic Education Board
UBE:	Universal Basic Education
UBEC:	Universal Basic Education Commission
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Fund
VSO:	Voluntary Service Overseas

¹ **GER/GAR:** Total pupil enrolment at a particular level of education irrespective of age, expressed as a percentage of the total population of the appropriate age for that level of education. Due to overage pupils the GER/GAR can exceed 100%. GER is calculated using EMIS returns on school enrolment; GAR uses attendance data from household surveys.

² **GPI:** Ratio of female to male of a given indicator; 1 = parity between female and males; 0–1 = a disparity 'in favour of' males'; above 1 = disparity 'in favour of' females.

³ **NER/NAR:** Total enrolment of the official age-group for a particular level of education expressed as a percentage of the total population for that age group. NER is based on EMIS enrolment data, and NAR is based on household survey data on school attendance.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. BACKGROUND

Nigeria reportedly has the largest number of children not enrolled in school in the world, with girls comprising the larger proportion by far (UNESCO, 2012). Analysis of school enrolments across Nigeria shows considerable variation with northern states showing significantly higher proportions of children not in school compared to those in the south (NPC and RTI International, 2011). Within the north, the North East Zone, including Adamawa State, has the lowest enrolment – with over 50% of girls not in school (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2009). This snapshot of data alone points to the significant challenges for Nigeria, and for Adamawa State in particular, in achieving the MDGs and EFA goals.

While research from other countries and other Nigerian states suggests a wide range of factors affecting the uptake of quality education, there is a paucity of empirical research that explores the particularities of the current situation in Adamawa State. It is within this context that the Adamawa State Basic Education Board (ADSUBEB) commissioned this preliminary research into access, quality and outcomes of basic education with specific reference to gender, to understand and inform approaches to address the specific educational needs of children and communities in Adamawa. While the original aim was to include all basic education, in the end it was decided to limit the research focus to primary education.

2. THE RESEARCH

2.1 Research aim

To conduct a preliminary exploration of access, quality and outcomes in Adamawa State primary schools with specific reference to gender.

2.2 Research objectives

1. To provide profiles of selected case study schools.
2. To provide illuminative, qualitative data and textured knowledge about school practices and processes highlighting gender.
3. To develop multiple stakeholder (pupils, parents, teachers, head teachers, Local Government Education Authority (LGEA) officers and community members) perspectives on improving school access and quality for girls.
4. To develop theoretical insights into the social and institutional processes related to the schooling of girls and boys.
5. To disseminate research findings through reports, conference papers and workshops.
6. To enhance local data management and research capacity.
7. To provide ADSUBEB with an evidence base to inform policy and intervention and for future monitoring purposes.

2.3 Research questions

1. What is the overall relationship between gender, access, retention and outcomes in primary education within Adamawa State?
2. What is the relationship between gender, access, retention and outcomes in each case study school?
3. What evidence is there in the schools of the differential treatment of girls and other social groups (religious/ethnic/ lifestyle)?

4. What evidence is there in the informal daily life of the schools of the differential treatment of girls and other social groups (religious/ethnic/ lifestyle)?
5. To what extent, and in what ways, do the pupils, teachers and head teachers view the experiences of schooling as equitable or inequitable (as regards gender/ethnicity/ religion/ lifestyle)? What relationships do they see between the experiences of schooling and access, dropout and examination outcomes?
6. What is the broader social and economic profile of the community in each case study?
7. What are the official structures and processes of community engagement in the school? What informal processes are in place? How is community involvement gendered?
8. What kinds of impact has community involvement had on the school?
9. What do community members and LGEA officers think are the key developmental priorities for the school? How do they explain school access, retention and examination outcomes records? What do they think the school might improve?
10. How do school teaching staff, the community and LGEA officers work together to address issues of access, quality and gender inequality in the case study schools?

2.4 Research strategy

The primary purpose of the proposed research was to explore and provide evidence on access to, and the quality of, primary education in Adamawa State. Six school case studies were a central feature of this research. These in-depth ethnographic-style school-based empirical studies explored schools and classrooms and heard the views of the multiple local stakeholders from the LGEAs, schools and communities. A literature review, explorations of the available quantitative data at national, state, LGEA and school levels, as well a series of supplementary state-level interviews, were incorporated into the research design and included as data for analysis.

A phased and collaborative approach was taken to the research. The collaboration between external researchers, local researchers and a research steering committee offered opportunities for negotiated development, quality control and research capacity development. The collective development of research instruments, data collection, analysis and writing were all elements of the research capacity development, which was an important secondary structure of the research strategy and an explicit research objective.

2.5 Research analysis

The data collected through this case study research brought together multiple perspectives around the complex and overlapping concerns elaborated in Section 2.3 above. These were organised and collated by stakeholder groups (teachers, pupils, etc.) and by case study school (see appendices). Following the compilation of case study reports, the team engaged in cross-case study analysis using analytical grids (see Appendix III) to enable greater levels of generality, which comprise the main findings of the research. In broad terms the cross-case analysis distinguished three sets of stakeholder groups: educational administration, schools, communities, and highlighted the communications and relationships between these stakeholder groups (e.g. between schools and communities) and, where possible, the relationships and processes *within* each (e.g. in schools between heads and teachers, teachers and pupils etc.). This stakeholder analysis was structured around the four broad themes listed below, which relate directly to the main research aim:

- **Access** (admission, attendance, dropout, retention & educational quality)
- **In-school factors** (conditions, relationships, experiences)
- **Out-of-school factors** (conditions & relationships in home/community)
- **Identities** (gender/religious/ethnic/linguistic/age/lifestyle)

It is from our analysis of the intersection of the stakeholder groups and the key themes that the main findings of the research emerged.

3. MAIN FINDINGS

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is to distil the main findings from the research and provide highlights that may be informative for future policy, practice and intervention, to improve access, quality and outcomes of education with special attention to gender. It is important to point out that the research focused only on primary education and did not explore early childhood provision, junior secondary schooling or teacher education.

The findings presented below are the highlights from the research, which are elaborated on both in the six case studies in Appendix I, as well as within Chapters 4–9 of the main research report. We therefore recommend reading the whole report and the case studies as a means to recover some of the detail of the social complexities of schools and communities that are the context in which educational development in Adamawa has and will take place.

In our critical engagement with the research into the multiple aspects of primary provision, however, we have not attempted to gloss over or hide the many challenges that face educational development in Adamawa. On the contrary, in this report we have attempted to lay out evidence and analysis to provide the best basis to understand what is going on and what this means for the educational rights of all children. Only with this information can the many committed educators in Adamawa rise to these challenges and make marked improvements that will have real effects.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge that this empirical inquiry and report are only part of an educational journey that began on an upward trajectory some time ago and in recent years has been accelerated. The efforts of ADSUBEB have already heightened awareness of the value of education, and have had profound effects on the provision of infrastructure and resources, on the quality of teachers, schools and administration, and, importantly, on widening access to education and on the delivery of human rights. Congratulations should be offered for these significant accomplishments, tempered by the awareness that there is still much that remains to be done.

3.2 Educational governance

State policy provides the primary guidance for educational practice and development and therefore needs to be informed by high-quality data and evidence from the multiple institutions and processes that together provide educational services. Research and evidence in Adamawa, however, is limited. The use of **information systems** is under-developed and needs upgrading in terms of data gathering, data accuracy, data processing and reporting. A year-on-year systematic analysis is an essential basis for policy development as well as for monitoring and evaluating their impacts. The inadequate information system straddles macro-level data handling and reporting to school-level record-keeping. Evidence from this research indicates that in many cases head teacher capacity to complete data returns was limited. This becomes a significant barrier to the production of positive strategies for school development and a threat to data quality and macro-level planning as school returns feed into LGEA and state data sets.

School governance arrangements are vital for addressing quality and equality in educational service provision in Adamawa State. The evidence from this research suggests that **systems of educational governance** across the state need to be improved and revitalised. The development

of a transparent, responsive and accountable system of school governance is a high priority in the face of reported political interference that has worked to disrupt accountability relations and in turn skewed the due acquisition of both professional position and resources. Trust in the letter of policy documents is low and linked to reported poor levels of professionalism in the administrative and educational hierarchy, resulting in the effective absence of an objective set of processes, rewards and disciplinary procedures. Various respondents across the board conveyed a desire to see educational governance move out of the realm of personal influence towards one of professional practice.

Evidence from this research suggests that in places the **communications** through the system are not working well and that **accountability** chains are broken. A lack of communication may in turn endanger the implementation of positive policy initiatives e.g. the free provision of textbooks and uniforms. At the same time, poor communications produce gaps in accountability chains in which, intentionally or not, educational personnel may neither carry out their responsibilities nor be held accountable for dereliction of duty. Formal systems to gauge accountabilities in relation to specific duties, or as part of a cyclical monitoring process, are not systematically operationalized.

Teacher appointment and deployment processes, although clearly documented, are neither clear nor transparent. The patterns and processes of teacher appointment, professional development and promotion are not closely monitored nor used to inform strategies that ensure fairer distribution and greater equity across and within the profession and administration. The evidence indicates a specific **gender** dynamic in these processes which demands focused policy and practice attention. In addition, there are evident differences between urban and rural teacher deployment that could also be usefully factored into strategic development around teacher deployment and career development.

Educational decentralisation needs to be further developed and supported. It has been unevenly implemented and communications between schools, communities and educational administration are often weak or antagonistic. The radical changes entailed in shifting towards more local management of schools should not be under-estimated. Ambiguities around the operation of SBMCs and PTAs and issues of representation and voice within them need to be addressed and responsibilities of the stakeholder bodies, communications to other stakeholder and accountabilities need to be made clear. These are complex social and cultural changes that need greater support on the ground.

School and teacher support systems tended to be weak and uneven despite the need for them, especially with respect to school–community relations, teacher professional development and teaching quality. The important relationship between quality and access has been highlighted in this research and the evidence suggests it is in need of concerted and coherent attention. Active teacher support to work towards more pupil-centred teaching and learning, for example, was not widely evident within or outside the schools. Similarly, systems to support school development were operationally weak. Systems of teacher and school reward for quality improvements as a means to encourage continuing professional development (CPD) were strikingly absent.

Educational administration has a responsibility for ensuring **equity** both in terms of the educational services it supports and as an employer. Whilst acknowledging certain gains and key equality champions, there appeared to be limited consensus, knowledge or understanding of the depth, breadth and complexity of the issues. For example, the research evidence indicates that gender stereotypes prevail to limit the educational opportunities of all children and there is a skewed gender representation of teachers, heads and officers on PTAs, SBMCs, LGEAs and

ADSUBEB. Equality monitoring systems (for gender and other disadvantaged groups) and practices were not in evidence.

3.3 Infrastructure

School infrastructure has an important bearing on issues of educational access, retention and quality. When schools are close to communities and families, access and retention in school is enabled. Those pupils who live furthest from school tend to start late and remain at risk of drop out. **Distance to school** has heightened significance for girls as concerns for their safety going to and from school have been found to be major reasons for not sending girls to school.

The appearance and **quality of school buildings** underline the importance of education in their localities and many stakeholders said they took pride in their schools. The buildings are the working conditions for teachers work and significant to their morale. It was obvious that focused efforts had been made to improve school infrastructure in some schools. This was greatly appreciated by respondents. However, the quality and finishing of buildings was sometimes disappointing, suggesting that commissioning processes and quality control measures need to be tightened. Debris and materials left after building work sometimes constrained the space outside classrooms, which along with sufficient shade and play equipment for play, were highlighted by respondents as important to children's positive experiences in school.

The building and refurbishment of schools evidently has been a high priority. Of necessity the ongoing building programme has been incremental; however, a systematic and equitable process in the selection of sites for building development has been less clear. The distrust and disaffection caused by the absence of more **explicit criteria, processes and practices** have a negative influence on those trying hard to improve educational access and opportunities in their communities.

Local disputes over land and water, and roads around or even through schools exemplified the apparent **mis-communication and lack of consultation** between schools, communities and educational administration staff. In the wider context of decentralisation, communications and consultation form an essential part of achieving consensus over infrastructural development and provide a means to strengthen school-community cohesion in ways that have the potential to increase school access and improve conditions and educational quality.

There was widespread evidence of successful **community mobilisation** involving ABSUBEB, LGEA, school and community leaders. However, there was also evidence that these efforts were undermined when infrastructural development (or teacher supply) could not keep pace with the increase in enrolments. There was, for example, evident overcrowding in some classes and many classes continued to be taught outside buildings and under shade. Such issues clearly negatively affected educational quality, reduced learning opportunities in school, and ultimately raised concerns about the value of attending school. In the longer term, access and retention may be threatened, especially in poor communities where child labour is in demand to sustain family life.

Pupil and teacher safety within school are vital for sustained access and educational quality with particular implications for parental trust in relation to girls. There is evidently a need to demarcate and secure school compounds with fences, gates and personnel – in consultation with communities – and to monitor those who enter and leave as in many cases **schools were vulnerable to encroachment** from outsiders during school and after hours.

The **basic amenities of water and toilets** were often absent or in poor condition, even though they constitute a fundamental part of school infrastructure. The lack of these amenities is

detrimental to the health and wellbeing of pupils and teachers and was found to be a cause of truancy and absenteeism. The negative implications are higher for female pupils and teachers, who require greater privacy in usual circumstances and particularly during menstruation. The inclusion of basic amenities has the potential to link to **health education**, especially as this and other research in Nigeria have shown ill health to be a significant threat to school access. Addressing issues around toilet use, basic hygiene and communicable diseases for pupils, communities and teachers could facilitate a cleaner safer environment which has the potential to reduce dropout associated with pupil and family illness and girls reaching puberty.

3.4 Teacher management

Gender differences in teacher appointments, promotions, deployment and in school responsibilities was widespread. For example there were fewer qualified female teachers in Adamawa State, substantial differences between male and female teachers in some LGEAs, and low numbers of female head teachers.

There were evident **disparities in staffing between urban and rural schools**. In the rural case study schools there were fewer qualified teachers and fewer female teachers. These inequities in teacher deployment, which place pupils in rural schools at a disadvantage, have reportedly begun to be addressed in a couple of the LGEAs although initiatives were in their early stages and had yet to be evaluated.

Appointments and promotions at school- and LGEA-level were reported to be subject to **political interference**. This was found to impact negatively on the capacity of certain appointees to manage schools and teachers with knock-on effects on staff morale, trust, working relations, and ultimately on school quality. Within schools there was some evidence that teacher responsibilities were allocated on merit but these were frequently **gender stereotyped**. Issues of gender equity and staff responsibilities are an important aspect of the management of teachers, as well as being significant to teacher career progression.

Teachers were overwhelmingly dissatisfied with their **pay and conditions**; in particular, low pay, delayed payments, lack of duty allowances (e.g. for head teachers) and opportunities for promotion clearly affected teacher morale, commitment and professionalism, which in turn adversely affected educational quality (e.g. through teacher absenteeism). The **low morale** of teachers and the quality of their teaching were exacerbated in many cases by poor classroom conditions and lack of teaching materials. Although official data indicate that primary class sizes in Adamawa comply with national recommendations (35:1), case study evidence suggests severe overcrowding in some cases due to a combination of a lack of classroom space and/or staff shortages and/or teacher absenteeism. The threats that poor teacher pay and conditions and low teacher morale pose to educational quality were evident.

Administrative and in-school **support for teachers** tended to be rather bureaucratic in nature and variable in frequency across the case study schools and LGEAs. There was only limited evidence of assisting teachers with pedagogy or content (e.g. LGEA-sponsored workshops on use of teaching aids), or the inclusion of head teachers in school-based teaching quality or professional development activities. Similarly, support for head teachers in managing staff or communicating with the community was not in evidence. In-service training courses and workshops were available but their limitations in effecting change in classroom practice were recognised. There was no evidence of systematic monitoring and evaluation of teacher professional development workshops or programmes.

In the face of increased numbers of qualified teachers in the state, many stakeholders recognised the sustained need to enhance teaching quality and the wider need to **improve and revise the teacher education system**. Suggested changes include involving more practical, school-based professional development, diagnostic activities, and bringing in outside expertise.

Teacher professionalism remained a key concern within the case study schools and LGEAs. Specific issues included teacher absenteeism, excessive use of corporal punishment and/or not covering parts of the syllabus. These all negatively influenced educational quality, pupil enrolment, punctuality, attendance, retention and performance. While some progress has been made in addressing teacher pay, conditions and incentives, there was a striking absence of in-school or head teacher-led strategies to address teacher professionalism. Associated with this, teacher discipline and accountability procedures were limited and tended to be implemented in an ad hoc rather than a systematic way. The implications for girls of poor teacher discipline by some male teachers were highlighted by some stakeholders, but rarely by respondents within the case study schools.

3.5 Pupil management

The **costs** of school attendance negatively affected school access, especially for children from the most impoverished families. Although there are regulations regarding fees and levies, there were indications that in some cases these were exceeded and further unsanctioned fees were being demanded by schools. In some cases, the policies of free uniform and improved textbook provision in schools, introduced to alleviate the costs of schooling, had not been properly implemented. There was evident need to monitor school fee demands and ensure the timely distribution of uniform and books, as these are key to improved and sustained school access.

In general, the **school organisation was rather unsympathetic** to the demands of pupils' lives outside school, such that pupils were often subject to corporal punishment or temporary exclusion if their parents had not paid levies or provided writing materials, or for pupil latecoming, absenteeism, or failure in their school cleaning duties, or in personal appearance and neatness. The research evidence showed that this school disposition discouraged access, and in the longer term, could lead to pupil absenteeism and/or dropout.

The proportion of the **school timetable** allocated to teaching and learning varied dramatically among schools and in many cases considerable time was spent by pupils on cleaning, assembly and other labour tasks. In one case as little as 2hrs 35mins was timetabled for classroom teaching and learning, which in practice left very little time devoted to learning. Enrolment, attendance and learning could all be enhanced with an improved balance between class time and cleaning/administration time, alongside a school organisation more tailored to fit with community lifestyle demands (e.g. household needs, farming duties, Qur'anic schooling).

Pupils were managed in highly authoritarian ways in schools characterised by a clear gender hierarchy. **Corporal and other physical punishment** and manual labour played a central role. The widespread and often unregulated use of corporal punishment by teachers and prefects was reported by pupils as having a strong negative effect on learning quality, and on school access and retention. Where alternatives to corporal punishment were used these generally involved physical discomfort, humiliation and/or entailed the pupil missing lessons. There was little evidence of efforts to develop disciplinary systems or practices that respected pupil dignity and did not deprive them of learning time.

The **prefect and monitor system** was highly gendered in terms of appointment and duties. Prefects were used predominantly for disciplinary purposes although there was one example in

which the punitive discipline function was transformed towards a more supportive and pastoral function through the appointment of ‘health prefects’. This highlights the potential to reconceptualise the prefect system towards one that could positively help to improve school quality and pupil retention. The use of the prefect system as a form of pupil representation, however, was absent even when this is required by government for the composition of the SBMC.

Beyond intervening in matters of physical violence and theft there was very little teacher intervention in **pupil peer relations**. The effective tolerance of various forms of “teasing”, verbal harassment and bullying had a significant negative effect on pupil experiences in school and in turn on their concentration, participation, attendance and dropout. These negative impacts were experienced more acutely by girls and overage pupils. The absence of teacher intervention contradicts the teacher’s duty of care for their pupils. In a similar way, good **teacher–pupil relationships** are central to positive experiences in school for both teachers and pupils and have been related to improved motivation, access, retention, learning quality and outcomes. Although there were a few instances of individual teachers showing personal concern for the welfare of certain individual pupils, for example by lending them stationery or making home visits when they were absent, in general across the case study schools teachers remained rather authoritarian and distant. There were very few opportunities for less formal interaction with pupils, for example, in extra-curricular activities although one school reported involving staff in after-school games activities with pupils.

3.6 Teaching and learning

Classroom conditions are critical to improvements in school and learning quality. Dry, bright, well-built classrooms with sufficient benches and desks and a teacher–pupil ratio close to the government recommended ratio of 1:35 are conducive to learning and help to motivate teachers and pupils to strive for improved educational quality. In several of the schools significant strides had been made in this regard, thanks to ADSUBEB’s recent infrastructural development programme. However, where these conditions were not achieved, it was detrimental to both pupils’ and teachers’ experiences of schooling and to educational quality.

As highlighted in Section 3.3, increases in enrolments have overtaken the pace of infrastructural development such that many classes take place under shade or have become **overcrowded** with insufficient and poor quality furniture for pupils. These are significant threats to educational quality, which in turn lead to pupil absenteeism and eventual dropout, thereby undermining the state’s efforts at social mobilisation.

Improvements in **textbook provision** were widely reported and many respondents were appreciative of this. However, there are still problems with distribution both to and within schools. In some case study schools books were not made regularly available for pupil use and so their value for learning was lost. In lessons where pupils did have access to textbooks their potential to have a positive impact on learning was not fully exploited by teachers, who tended to use them in a rather limited ways, for reading out loud or for setting exercises.

A lack of **proficiency in English** (by teachers and pupils) denied many pupils access to the curriculum, contributing to teacher and pupil frustration, exam failure, pupil absenteeism and dropout. Where it was within the capability of the teacher, teaching took place through a mixture of English and Hausa. This strategy, however, meant that lesson material took longer to cover, and minority language speakers not fluent in Hausa were further disadvantaged, as were Hausa-speaking pupils taught by non-Hausa speakers.

Didactic and teacher-centred methods were universally practised. The pattern was usually teacher monologue interspersed with a mixture of choral repetition and ritualised question-and-answer routines. This often resulted in limited learning opportunities, difficulties in gauging pupil progress and unruly classes in which “teasing”, harassment and bullying went on unchecked. Poor classroom conditions, large class sizes, wide age ranges among pupils, a lack of resources and low proficiency in English were all factors that contributed to the limited approach to teaching and learning. There was, however, limited professional support for teachers to enable them to implement the more reflective, interactive teaching methods desired by government. There was no evidence that key teaching and learning quality issues raised in this report – such as extending the time children actually spend on learning, implementing active learning, and developing systems to record pupil progress – were part of a planned CPD programme for teachers. In addition, doubts were expressed by some Board and LGEA respondents about the quality of **in-service teacher education** and **pre-service** provision, and dissatisfaction was voiced by some teachers about the lack of transparency concerning who were given opportunities to attend workshops.

The push to widen school access has resulted in many classes being comprised of pupils from a wide age range. **Overage pupils** in particular often have difficult experiences of schooling, which this research confirmed; they may achieve poor learning outcomes, are constantly at risk of dropping out and have a negative influence on the learning of others. Despite the inevitability that overage pupils are likely to be a persistent part of the primary school population, there has been little or no specific school or teacher support in strategies to deal with their learning. One case study school, however, was experimenting with separate remedial classes for older pupils although this has yet to be evaluated.

Gender stereotypes and a culture of male superiority persisted and were reinforced in school. Although gender stereotypes and expectations have detrimental influences on learning practices, there were no examples in which implicit gender discrimination was being challenged or explicitly addressed in schools. Addressing gender stereotypes and assumptions is a crucial part of any equality strategy with specific implications for pupil access, retention and outcomes.

3.7 School–community relations

The **opportunity costs** of school attendance are a key barrier to school access, especially among the poorest communities. Family obligations to pay PTA levies and make other payments, such as for writing materials and uniforms, were preventing some families from enrolling or from keeping their children in school. This was exacerbated in some schools where other unsanctioned fees were being demanded from parents.

Levels of enrolment, latecoming, absenteeism, retention, dropout and poor performance were all impacted by the need for children to contribute to their household economies. These community livelihood demands were often cyclical in nature e.g. due the planting and harvesting seasons; however, apart from reported encouragement from one LGEA, there was otherwise no evidence of **LGEA or school flexibility** to alter timetables in order to accommodate this, and thereby improve enrolment, attendance and retention in school. This lack of flexibility was also observed within Muslim communities in which the requirement to attend Islamic schools before public school led to persistent pupil latecoming. These pupils were then met by repeated punishment, with the inevitable effects on learning quality and retention.

Dropout, especially of boys, also resulted from the combination of low school quality and limited local employment opportunities. This suggests that immediate opportunities to earn money won

out against the rather intangible and longer term benefits of schooling. In some schools, parents indicated that both excessive corporal punishment and teacher absenteeism had prompted them to withdraw their children from school. There was little evidence of SBMCs (or even of LGEAs or school management) addressing the problems related to dropout or wider issues of school quality and teacher management.

Successful **community sensitisation** campaigns by LGEAs and schools, especially among Muslim families, have reportedly improved the enrolment of boys and girls in school. However, they appear to have had limited impact on gender-stereotyping. **Addressing gender inequalities** is central to the efforts for universal primary education (UPE) and this appears to be needed among all groups of stakeholders, including girls, who need to be supported in taking up their educational rights, achieving highly and completing school. The research evidence confirmed that pregnancy and early marriage continue to hamper educational opportunities, mainly of girls but also of boys.

Many **PTAs** had made obvious contributions to school development, especially with respect to buildings. The operation of the school–community liaison function, however, was more variable, with evidence that often the PTA committee did not consult ordinary community members widely. Therefore opportunities to collectively address enrolment, retention and quality issues were lost.

The relatively recent establishment of **SBMCs** appears to have produced some confusion about their distinction from PTAs. Their central role in school governance focuses on the SBMC as an important conduit for the community voice, a mechanism for quality improvements and part of a system of accountability. There was limited evidence of the SBMCs acting systematically in any of these functions although there was reported involvement of SBMCs in raising funds for school development and in community sensitisation. In addition, evidence from the research indicates that, like the PTA, SBMC membership is not representative of the community and only in one case study school were pupils included on the committee (albeit only on paper) in accordance with the official guidance. The exclusion of the female voice and that of ordinary community members or parents in several instances was noteworthy and implicitly discriminatory.

School–community relations were at their strongest when communities provided funds, labour or material for school infrastructural development since both school and community respondents were agreed on its importance. Beyond that, however, many respondents recognised the need for **greater engagement between schools, LGEAs and communities**. In general, though, in discussion about school–community relations it was the primacy of the school perspective that prevailed. Although there was some recognition by school and LGEA staff of the multiple difficulties some parents and community members faced with regards to schooling their children, ultimately **parents** and **community** members were often framed in negative, **deficit** terms and held to be responsible for lack of school access, retention and/or poor learning outcomes. There was rarely any acknowledgement that the poor quality of schooling or livelihood demands might be significant contributory factors to parents' unwillingness to enrol or keep their children in school. Many head teachers were ill-equipped to negotiate or consult with community members and in cases where communications had broken down, the LGEA was called on to intervene. There were evident **capacity building** needs in all the three stakeholder groups (LGEAs, schools and teachers, community) as well as within the community liaison bodies of the PTA and SBMC.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

The recommendations have been organised to relate to the three stakeholder groups: educational administration, schools and communities. As communications and collaboration within and between them is critical to improving pupil access to high quality education, these recommendations necessarily overlap. A more elaborated list of recommendations is provided at the end of the main report. It should also be emphasised that implementation of most of these recommendations is likely to require substantial, gender-sensitive capacity building among the three stakeholder groups, to enable them to carry out their school-related functions more effectively.

4.2 Educational governance

4.2.1 Systems development and professional practice

- The **quality of data** gathering, processing and reporting needs to be improved and utilised to inform all aspects of educational policy, equality strategies and practice. The data and statistical analysis systems should be used for annual reports, monitoring and evaluation and research of emergent issues. The capacity development needs throughout these processes are vital to the achievement of high-quality reliable data.
- The system for **appointment, promotion and deployment** of teachers and all education personnel needs to be strengthened and implemented in a transparent way. A pay and promotion structure for teachers should to be developed and include job descriptions, professional expectations, line-management and accountability structures, decision-making responsibilities and incentives (e.g. for quality improvements, school responsibilities, deployment to rural schools etc.). This needs to be accompanied by improved administration to ensure prompt and regular salary payments.
- **Continuing Professional Development** for all educational personnel needs to be planned, targeted and responsive. For LGEA officers and head teachers this should include training in M&E, supporting professional practice (including pedagogy), line and teacher management skills and community liaison. Other strategies to enhance the professionalism of teachers might include the delivery of school-based CPD to local school clusters and the specification of in-service training days.
- The quality of the school experience and outcomes would be enhanced by clear state-level guidance, support and training in the following two key areas:
 - **language use** The use of local languages and bi-/ multi- lingual approaches to teaching needs to be reconsidered and supported with appropriate textbooks. Additionally, the use of English needs to be strengthened perhaps by developing a cadre of specialist English teachers.
 - **disciplinary sanctions** that are incremental, non-violent, non-physical and non-disruptive to pupil learning need to be developed. All education personnel need to be trained in a code of practice that highlights a duty of care, and aims to eliminate gender-based violence and provide victim support.
- All aspects of educational governance and administration need to adhere to principles of **equality and inclusion**. This must be integral to policies and practices throughout the education system all of which should be subject to monitoring and evaluation. This is a wide-scale remit that includes appointments, representation, opportunities, voice and participation within and between the stakeholder groups (e.g. educational workforce, pupil populations and community involvement etc.). It includes reference to gender, poverty, religion, disability, nomadic groups and rural populations. This might entail the development of specific or flexible forms of schooling and particular kinds of educational

personnel for those children not achieving their educational rights through mainstream provision, such as is being practised in the current provision of nomadic schooling.

- Links between education and **health** service providers need to be strengthened to improve school access and the health, hygiene and welfare of pupils in schools.

4.2.2 Infrastructure and resources

- The number of **schools and classrooms** needs to be increased and the quality of many existing buildings and classrooms upgraded. They also need to be equipped with sufficient **furniture** and secure storage. The establishment of schools should include accessible **water**, well-maintained, gender-segregated **toilet** facilities and adequate shaded areas in the compound. Optimally the school should include a library, a computer lab and play resources.
- **School security** needs specific attention and should include a boundary fence and gate to enclose a safe and clean school compound. Negotiations with the community are vital as their agreement and support are essential for sustaining the safety of the school environment.
- The supply, distribution and use of **textbooks** need to be improved. They should be available to teachers and pupils and used meaningfully in the classroom. For pupils in financial hardship writing materials and exercise books should be available.

4.3 Schools, head teachers and teachers

4.3.1 Head teachers

- Sustained attention needs to be paid to the **buildings, resources, amenities and security** of the school, as well as to the safety of the pupils. The achievement and oversight of this kind of school environment will necessitate: negotiations with the community, SBMC, PTA and LGEA; the ready availability of school and learning resources; as well as vigilance about the proper use of the school, the amenities and resources.
- **Support for teachers** in achieving the highest professional standards is a central strategy for improving school quality. This might include personal support, school-based initiatives and state-level workshops. It should be accomplished with support from the school supervisor (SS) and educational supervisor (ES) from the LGEA, through collaboration with head teachers from other local schools and discussions in regular staff meetings. Generic issues in need of focused attention include: teacher punctuality and attendance in school and in the classroom; the development and implementation of a more diverse range of approaches to teaching and to pupil discipline; the use of teaching resources; development of curriculum resource; language capacity building; and career development advice.
- A system of **pupil representation** should be integral to the school's organisation. Their ideas, energy and engagement will provide a positive influence on improved attendance and quality. It may also be used as a means to demonstrate the importance of **inclusion and equality** that should characterise every facet of the organisation and operation of the school.
- **Collaboration and communications with the community** need to be strengthened and integrated in the management of the school and in future planning. The operation of the **SBMC and PTA** are vital to improving access, quality, school development and accountability, and their positive support in liaising between the school and community needs to be encouraged and utilised fully. Creative, reciprocal and not always financially based engagements between the school and community need to be positively encouraged and promoted.

4.3.2 Teachers

- Continual efforts to **improve teaching quality** and pupil learning are fundamental to the professional work of teachers. In the first instance this entails being in class, and engaged in teaching activities at the appointed times. In addition, this includes proactively seeking CPD opportunities, engaging with other local teacher colleagues and personal professional endeavour. The research evidence indicates that these efforts could usefully focus on: the development and implementation of schemes of work and lesson plans; increasing the time pupils spend ‘on task’ learning; providing opportunities for greater pupil participation; adopting diverse approaches to teaching, moving towards more child-centred learning; checking and recording the learning progress of each pupil; providing feedback and support for those with learning difficulties.
- The **management of pupils** is a key aspect of teachers’ duties. This should be accomplished by avoiding using gender as an organising structure and stereotyping (e.g. in cleaning duties, the appointment of prefects). There is need to develop and operate an incremental, non-violent and gender-aware system of **rewards** and **disciplinary sanctions** for pupils. These must avoid the use of pupil labour, physical harm and public humiliation. Alongside the need for pupil discipline, every teacher has a **duty of care** that requires intervention in all forms of gender-based violence, bullying or pupil conflicts, including what is often perceived as “teasing”. It also entails facilitating pupil access, for example, through personal and school-level efforts to avoid punishing pupils for their parents’ inability to pay school levies, following up those pupils who have poor attendance or punctuality records and seeking links with health services to improve pupil welfare.

4.4. Communities

- There is a sustained need to ensure that community members are aware of each **child’s rights** to education irrespective of gender, religion, ethnicity, disability or economic circumstances. School PTAs and SBMCs, in collaboration with teachers, the LGEA and other community organisations, need to continue to engage in social mobilisation. Community members need to be encouraged and to encourage all parents and guardians in their responsibilities for the education of all children in the community. The gender and equity message must be integral to social mobilisation as well as the freedom from violence used in child discipline.
- Wide and equitable **community representation** on the PTA and SBMC is vital to ensure that multiple community voices are heard and that community views are not dominated by a single interest group or by the school’s perspective. Evidence from the research indicates the serious under-representation of female and poorer community members. The absence of voice might mean that simple solutions to improve school access are not attempted. For example, school access might be facilitated by slight changes to the school day in response to the livelihood demands of particular communities. These can only come to light if the community voice is aired and engaged. This is also a crucial dimension of school **accountability**.
- **Community involvement** in the school needs to be encouraged through improved outreach, systems of communication and more open consultation with a wide range of community members. Good communications and relations will provide a better foundation for the school and facilitate greater community involvement in the school and its development. There is a need, however, to explore ways in which parents might become involved or contribute to the school in non-financial ways. The research suggests there may be reciprocal benefits to be gained from community support in ensuring school and pupil security, which in turn would preserve the school as a community resource to be used after lessons for various community activities (e.g. adult literacy classes).

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 RATIONALE

This preliminary research study was commissioned by the Adamawa State Basic Education Board (ADSUBEB), and the main purpose was to investigate access to primary education, especially for girls, across the state. The supporting rationale for this study lies fundamentally in the connection between education and economic and social development. Educational uptake is both an indicator and a result of these development objectives. However, Nigeria has the largest number of children not enrolled in school in the world, and the majority of the children missing out on their rights to education are girls (UNESCO, 2012). Within Nigeria it is the North East Zone, including Adamawa State, which has the lowest enrolments – with over 50% of girls not in school (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2009; National Population Commission (NPC) and ICF Macro, 2009). This research was one step towards addressing the challenges of achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education For All (EFA) goals in Adamawa State.

There is a paucity of empirical research on education in Adamawa State and little evidence on the factors affecting the provision and uptake of quality primary education. This preliminary research into access, quality and outcomes in education, with specific reference to gender, was commissioned to understand and inform approaches to address the specific educational needs of children and communities in Adamawa. It is important to emphasise that the research focused only on primary education and did not explore either early childhood or junior secondary provision. The research findings focus attention on specific issues raised by a wide range of stakeholders, which are intended to inform future policy, practice and intervention, and to improve the condition of education in the state.

From its inception a case study methodology and an international collaborative team were stipulated as central elements of the research design. Over the two-year period between the inception and the delivery of the research these conditions have had a strong bearing on the shape and quality of this study. The case study approach has highlighted the significance of all local stakeholders to the delivery of quality education to all children in Adamawa and this research has provided the space for their perspectives to be heard, albeit sometimes in a limited way.

In a similar way the composition of the research team brought together individuals with their respective strengths to produce a collective of critical social scientists to engage in the main questions of the research through systematic empirical study. As expected in a critical study, the process of the research brought these researchers into (good-humoured) contention with each other over various aspects of the study and interpretation, all of which have contributed to its quality. This critical engagement with the multiple aspects of primary provision, however, has not attempted to gloss over or hide the many challenges that face educational development in Adamawa. On the contrary, in this report we have attempted to outline the current condition of primary education and draw attention to the social complexities of schools and communities that are the context in which educational development in Adamawa has and will take place. Acknowledging the significant achievements already made by ADSUBEB, we have attempted to use evidence and analysis to lay bare the educational context as it is, in order to provide the best basis to understand what is going on, what this means for the educational rights of all children, and what the many committed educators in Adamawa might do to meet the challenges and make marked improvements that will have real effects.

1.2 CONTEXT

Adamawa is officially categorised as an Educationally Disadvantage State (EDS), meaning that it is characterised by low participation in education at all levels. In national educational statistical returns the North East, along with the North West, often occupies the bottom ranks in the whole of Nigeria (NPC and RTI International, 2011). The state population of more than 3 million is multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious and the relatively low levels of literacy even in young people (NPC and RTI International, 2011) suggest that the practices of going to school and staying in school are not well embedded within society in general. For example, in Adamawa much of the population is engaged in agricultural work, often in subsistence farming and levels of poverty are high. There are also important trading routes and urban centres that contribute to the local economy.

There are clearly multi-dimensional challenges for ADSUBEB in ensuring the rights to education of the children in the state. While there have been important and successful policy initiatives implemented over recent years, there remain key challenges around the supply and demand of educational services in Adamawa. Continued and accelerated success, however, requires deeper understandings of the complex social relations within and between educational administration, schools and communities. This research has attempted to contribute to these understandings as the basis to improve access to quality education for a relatively impoverished population that does not have a strong tradition of sustained schooling. In this way it hopes to support ADSUBEB with its key concerns and questions about how to make education available, inviting and effective for all young people, irrespective of their specific location, socio-economic status or ethnic, religious or gender identities.

1.3 REPORT STRUCTURE

This report has ten chapters, several appendices and an executive summary that has provided an overview of the main elements of the research. The main body of the report proceeds in Chapter 2 with details of the research design, methods and analysis. This chapter also provides the conceptual frameworks for the study, including short definitions of access and gender as well as a representation of how different stakeholder groups inter-relate to impact on access to quality education. The national and state contexts are presented in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively. Following this, in Chapters 5–9 we present data and analysis around the key dimensions of the research. We start with infrastructure and then, in order, we move to consider teacher management, pupil management, teaching and learning, and school–community relations. In Chapter 10, the final chapter, we draw conclusions and provide recommendations. The appendices set out at the end of the report include crucial information that has direct relevance to the report. In particular, Appendix I includes all six case study reports, which have been drawn together from the extensive fieldwork. These include data and evidence that was the basis for the analysis presented in the main body of the report. The other appendices include the research instruments.

CHAPTER 2 RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This research set out to explore access to primary schools in Adamawa State, with specific reference to gender. We refer to a broad definition of access that includes the quality of teaching and learning, school completion and outcomes as well as the school environment. With our focus at the school level, we adopted a case study approach as central to the research strategy. The ethnographic-style case studies were set up to explore what was going on in schools and classrooms and to catalogue the views of the multiple local stakeholders from the LGEAs, schools and communities about access and gender. Alongside these school-level empirical case studies, interview data were collected from SUBEB-level stakeholders and quantitative data sets from national, state, LGEA and school levels were explored.

Collaboration was a key feature of the research. External researchers from the Centre for International Education, University of Sussex, in the UK, Nigerian researchers who were experienced educationalists from Adamawa State, and a Research Steering Group composed of ADSUBEB members worked together in different ways over the phases of the research. This provided the context for negotiated development and progress of the research and helped ensure data and research quality.

Beyond the primary focus of the research inquiry on access to primary schools, a second aspect of the research strategy concerned the development of research capacity. This was accomplished through the team approach to the production of research instruments, data collection, analysis and writing. The third element integral to the research was a review of the systems and capacities in basic education administration across Adamawa to monitor and support the delivery of educational services.

2.2 RESEARCH AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

2.2.1 Research aim

To conduct a preliminary exploration of access, quality and outcomes in Adamawa State primary schools with specific reference to gender.

2.2.2 Research objectives

1. To provide profiles of selected case study schools.
2. To provide illuminative qualitative data and textured knowledge about school practices and processes, highlighting gender.
3. To develop multiple stakeholder (pupils, parents, teachers, head teachers, local government education authority (LGEA) officers and community members) perspectives on improving school access and quality for girls.
4. To develop theoretical insights into the social and institutional processes related to the schooling of girls and boys.
5. To disseminate research findings through reports, conference papers and workshops.
6. To enhance local data management and research capacity.
7. To provide ADSUBEB with an evidence base to inform policy and intervention and for future monitoring purposes.

2.2.3 Research questions

1. What is the overall relationship between gender, access, retention and outcomes in primary education within Adamawa State?

2. What is the relationship between gender, access, retention and outcomes in each case study school?
3. What evidence is there in schools of the differential treatment of girls and other social groups (religious/ethnic/lifestyle)?
4. What evidence is there in the informal daily life of the schools of the differential treatment of girls and other social groups (religious/ethnic/lifestyle)?
5. To what extent and in what ways do the pupils, teachers and head teachers view the experiences of schooling as equitable or inequitable (as regards gender/ethnicity/religion/lifestyle)? What relationships do they see between experiences of schooling and access, dropout and examination outcomes?
6. What is the broader social and economic profile of the community in each case study?
7. What are the official structures and processes of community engagement in the school? What informal processes are in place? How is community involvement gendered?
8. What kinds of impact has community involvement had on the school?
9. What do community members and LGEA officers think are the key developmental priorities for the school? How do they explain school access, retention and examination outcomes records? What do they think the school might improve?
10. How do school teaching staff, the community and LGEA officers work together to address issues of access, quality and gender in the case study schools?

2.3 KEY CONCEPTS

2.3.1 Access

The aim of this research is to explore issues of access to primary school in Adamawa State. The understanding of access we use does not only refer to admission to school but includes meaningful participation in a teaching/learning environment of adequate quality and completion of a cycle of basic education. As the Roadmap for the Nigerian Education Sector (Federal Ministry of Education (FME), 2009b, p.19) elaborates, “there are deep issues of physical access, quality access and economic access” in schooling. In these terms access means admission to school first, but it also includes attendance, retention and transition. More than this it refers to the quality of schooling, the experiences and processes through schooling, and outcomes. These outcomes might include the measurables of examination, literacy and numeracy scores, as well as wider attributes that support individuals to become active citizens, engage in their social world, claim their rights, respect others, make a positive contribution to an equitable society and enjoy their livelihoods. The association of access with quality and outcomes is reflected in the research questions and reiterated by CREATE (2008):

Access to education has to include judgements of educational quality and process (what children have access to); and of educational outcomes (what competencies and capabilities are acquired and how they are valued). CREATE’s expanded vision of access to education emphasises learning that has utility, and which is inclusive, equitable and sustainable. The vision includes local access to safe schools with an appropriate environment for learning; admission and progression at an appropriate age; regular attendance; access to secondary education; learning outcomes that meet national norms; and socially equitable access to affordable educational services of quality. (CREATE, 2008, p.1)

This wider notion of access means that quantitative data and indicators are not sufficient to inform us. Qualitative data are needed to capture the processes and relationships, perspectives and positions that are vital to understanding educational provision, quality and uptake. Together quantitative and qualitative data and analysis can provide important insights into what has been happening in terms of access, and how developments might be devised and implemented so that all children achieve their right to education.

2.3.2 Gender

In this study we refer to a theory of gender that recognises the social construction of gender that does not imply an oppositional gender binary (females v males) or refer to women alone but rather to relations among and between females and males (Kabeer, 1994; Cornwall, 1997; Oyěwùmí, 2002). Gender identities and social positions are formed within specific historico-political contexts through social and institutional structures and processes, for example in the school, the family, the community and the state (Connell, 1987). In this respect the gender analysis in this study examines multiple aspects of educational policy and planning, institutional structures, social processes, interactions and outcomes as they relate to gender equality. This perspective on gender equality is as much about boys' education as girls', and about differences within as well as between gender categories. Nevertheless, in this research, we have highlighted the education of girls, as an aggregated group. In this we have been informed by the National Policy on Gender in Basic Education (FME, 2007a) that identifies the following factors as having inhibited female participation in basic education: lack of political commitment; poor planning and management; gender-insensitive teaching materials and a gender-blind curriculum; girl-unfriendly school infrastructure; skewed male-female teacher ratios; gender-biased attitudes towards girls; sexual harassment; poverty; and cultural factors such as the erroneous interpretation of religious teaching.

Finally, although our central focus here is on girls, we recognise social and cultural complexities and the fact that gender does not describe a total identity but intersects with other identity characteristics to shape and differentiate one gendered subject from another. Our broad theoretical position is summarised below:

Rather than a fixed binary, gender identities are multiple, fluid, relational, dynamic and often contradictory as they are differentiated by class, race, ethnicity, location, nationality, religion, sexuality, age, location and so on. (Humphreys, Undie and Dunne, 2008, p.11)

2.3.3 A relational framework for access

Access to primary school and the delivery of educational rights to children needs to be conceptualised beyond the point of delivery when a child enters (or does not enter) a primary school and classroom. While clearly an important indicator of access, it is only a moment within a much broader set of relations that surround and support it. These are represented in Fig. 2.1 below. Initial and sustained access to school emerges through the involvement of families and communities, schools and teachers as well as educational administrators from ADSUBEB to LGEAs to School Supervisors. Each of these three stakeholder groups in its own right has a significant influence on access to school but cannot on its own provide that access. It is the relationship between these groups that works to realise school access for every child. In this study we have used this model to structure our focus and the data collection.

In Figure 2.1 access to school occupies a central position and is shown as emerging from the contribution of the three groups of stakeholders. The views and practices of each of these stakeholder groups are of critical importance in this study, which set out to explore access at the local level. So, while school case studies comprised the main research strategy (see next section), they included data collection from stakeholders in each of the three groups: in schools, communities and educational administration. This relational dynamic is a vital aspect in access to school and was used to structure our data analysis.

The purpose of our data and analysis was not to provide technical descriptions of the roles and responsibilities of each stakeholder group but rather to explore what actually transpires with respect to specific primary schools so that we might better understand how relations between

stakeholders work to deliver (or deny) the educational rights of each child in Adamawa. Multiple case studies also provided the opportunity to consider different contexts, understand diversity in stakeholder relations and to make some comparisons.

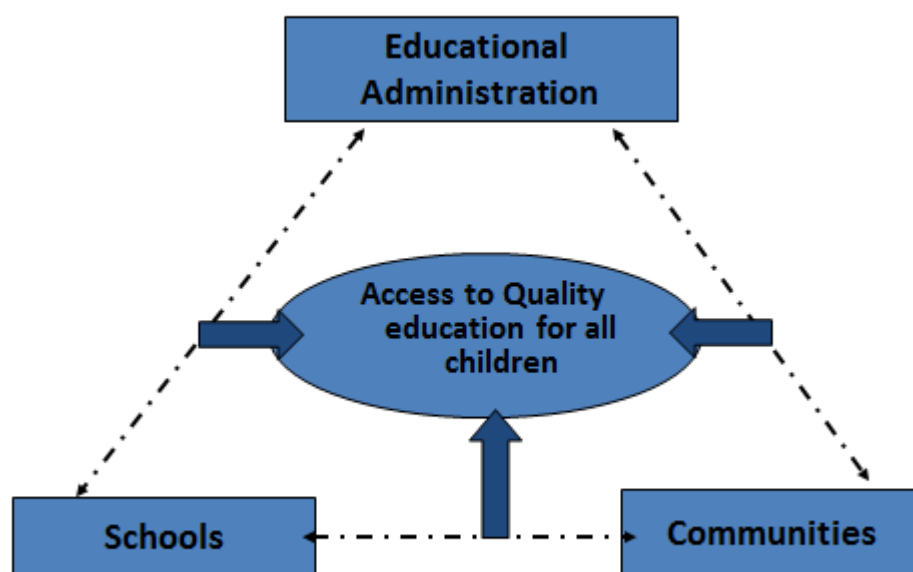


Figure 2.1 A relational framework for access

Source: adapted from Dunne, Akyeampong and Humphreys, 2007

The triangular relations depicted in Fig 2.1 provide a simple model that is a useful structuring device to understand and report on the case studies. It was not intended to suggest that each of the stakeholder groups speaks in one accord. Divergence of opinion and practice within each of the stakeholder groups provides another layer of social dynamics that we have tried to draw out. This might refer to institutional or hierarchical relations that structure the workplace or less formalised relations among community members. The relations within stakeholder groups present another layer that was considered in the development of the research design, data collection and the analysis.

In summary, then, the design and analysis of this research was built on a conceptual foundation that incorporates a very broad notion of access; promotes an understanding of gender that underscores gender relations, highlights girls, and links with other dimensions of marginalisation; and locates the achievement of sustained access at the local level within the triangular dynamics of community, school and administrative stakeholder relations.

2.4 DESIGN

The research was designed in four stages: preparation, main fieldwork, analysis, writing and dissemination. These are detailed in Table 2.1 below. This synthesis report marks the end of Phase 3 and as such does not include comment on the fourth phase, which concerns dissemination. During the process of the research, public sector strike action and other unanticipated events resulted in a three-month extension in the research timeline. As a result, the first three phases of the research extended from 1st January 2011– 30th April 2012.

Table 2.1 Research design

Phase 1: PREPARATION January–March 2011	
Main activities	Outputs
Literature and quantitative data review Secondary data collection and analysis State/LGEA statistical profile Review of relevant research Research Meeting 1 Presentation and discussion of state profile Review of state and LGEA monitoring and analysis procedures Identification of school sample Development of research timelines & instruments Piloting of instruments Agreed data management proformas Agreed communication strategy	Background research brief Detailed research & communication plan Development of research instruments Agreed programme of work & research timeline

Phase 2: MAIN FIELDWORK March–September 2011	
<p>Case studies data collection</p> <p>A. Contextual data</p> <p><u>Quantitative data collection:</u> School and community statistics, demographics, economic activity, health, infrastructure. School-level data on enrolment, retention, dropout, attainment, teacher variables.</p> <p><u>Document collection:</u> School & community development plans, meetings and reports</p> <p>B. In-school data</p> <p>In-classroom observations x 6 Around school observations Pupil group interviews x 4 Head teacher interview Teacher interviews x 3</p> <p>C. Other stakeholders</p> <p>LGEA education administrators PTA & SBMC representatives Other parents Community leaders</p> <p>D. Ongoing collation & writing</p> <p><u>2. Communications</u></p> <p>Breakdown</p> <p>A. In-country team meetings x 3 Monitoring of progress and data organisation Ongoing analysis, discussion of emergent themes Sussex researcher field support</p> <p>B. UK communications Progress report</p> <p>C. Mid-term progress meeting</p> <p><u>3. Writing preparation</u> Preparation of case study reports</p>	<p>Mid-term progress report</p> <p>Case study draft reports</p>

Phase 3: ANALYSIS & WRITING October 2011–March 2012	
Research Meeting 2 <u>Review progress</u> Presentation of school case study data <u>Analysis</u> Progress and focussing discussions Development of analytical themes Identification of dominant stakeholder perspectives Mapping of school, context & national profiles Relating quantitative and qualitative data Discussion of emergent and comparative insights <u>Preparation for outputs</u> Progress presentation Development of output format and delivery dates Final data sweep Preparation of final case study reports Preparation of dissemination activities and timelines Development of research executive summary	6 case study reports in standardised format Presentation of progress to RSG Agreed research dissemination plans Synthesis research report
Phase 4: DISSEMINATION April–June 2012	
Dissemination workshops State-level dissemination LGEA dissemination School & community dissemination Other stakeholder dissemination National conference International conference	Powerpoint presentations Research brief handout Executive summary Academic papers x 2 (1 national; 1 international)

It is important to note that reciprocal capacity building was integral to this study. The composition of the research team had an important bearing on the quality of the data collection, analysis and writing. This team included: one Muslim Nigerian female researcher, one Christian Nigerian male researcher and one Muslim Nigerian male researcher and two UK-based Christian female researchers. The combination of their strengths has brought this study together and forged important links between the international team. It is inevitable, however, that over the course of such an intensive and long-term study that changes in the lives of the team affect the capacity to engage with and provide the expected research outputs. Although we are satisfied with the quality of the research and of this report, it is for a combination of unanticipated reasons and changes for members of the research team that the dissemination timeline has been delayed and is now anticipated to take place in 2013.

2.5 SAMPLE AND METHODS

2.5.1 School sample

Six primary schools were selected as case study locations. These included two schools from each senatorial zone in Adamawa in a mix of more urban and more rural locations. The wider LGEAs all include urban centres and rural areas and in our later analysis we have tried to differentiate what might be related to the LGEA as a whole and to the school in particular. The sample of schools is presented in Table 2.2. These schools and the all research respondents have been given pseudonyms to protect their identity and confidentiality.

Table 2.2 Case study sample

School	School location	LGEA	Senatorial zone
Kanti Primary School	Rural	N1	Northern
Domingo Primary School	Urban	N2	Northern
Metropolis Primary School	Urban	C1	Central
Kilfi Primary School	Urban	C2	Central
Doya Primary School	Rural	S1	Southern
Baobab Primary School	Urban	S2	Southern

In general terms most parents in five of the schools were farmers involved in subsistence agriculture and/or animal husbandry, with a sprinkling of petty traders and civil servants. Thus, they experienced periods of intensive labour during the rainy season (generally June to December). Only in the most urban school were most parents traders, and in one of the schools, some families were engaged in fishing. High levels of household poverty were reported across the case study schools and LGEAs. We briefly outline the socio-economic profile of each school and LGEA in turn.

Kanti Primary School

Kanti Primary School is a rural school that lies within the Northern Senatorial Zone. It is located in a small, wholly Christian village, which possesses a church and a health centre. The catchment area includes surrounding villages and some quite mountainous areas, as far as 8km away. Most families in the catchment area practise subsistence agriculture with some family members engaged in petty trading either within the village or further afield in the larger, more urban trading centres. The community is predominantly Higgi and there is a close cultural affinity between the residents of Kanti village, its surrounding areas and nearby Cameroon although Higgis in Cameroon tend to be Muslim.

The LGA within which Kanti is located lies close to both Cameroon and Borno State and is cross cut by major access roads to these areas from within the state. The towns and communities within the area are therefore major trading communities maintaining close commercial ties with the neighbouring state and country, predominantly in the wholesale and retail of essential goods, liquor and groceries. Although trading is important, much of the LGA's population is rural, making a living from subsistence agriculture and animal husbandry. As in the school community, the main ethnic group is Higgi (Kamwe), the majority of which are Christian although there are some Muslim Higgis in the urban centres.

Domingo Primary School

Located in the Northern Senatorial Zone, this school is in a mixed religious and ethnic community. According to the head teacher the local community has a population of around 20,000 and includes several markets, places of worship and two medical facilities. While this is a school on the edge of an urban area, most parents are farmers, as they are more generally across the LGA. There are, however, a few petty traders and civil servants. The major ethnic groups in the locality are the Gude, Higgi, Hausa and Hausa-Fulani. The Gude were said to be indigenous to the area, and across the LGA more generally, though there was disagreement among respondents as to whether the Gude or Higgi comprise the majority ethnic group. The main community languages are Higgi, Gude and Fulfulde, although the language of interaction within the community and in the school is Hausa. Pupils interviewed also mentioned the following languages used at home: Kilba, Tangale, Bura, Yoruba, Fali and Margi.

The school is located within an LGA of around 130, 000, according to the most recent census, which straddles the main tarred road between Yola and Maiduguri, the state capitals of

Adamawa and Borno, respectively, and lies within easy access of Cameroon. The flat urban area is consequently a thriving commercial centre, and enjoys all the usual urban amenities and infrastructure. This is not the case in the more rural areas, especially the more mountainous ones. Groundnuts are grown as a cash crop. The LGA contains both Christian and Muslim communities, though it is predominantly Muslim.

Metropolis Primary School

Metropolis Primary School is the most urban school, centrally located in a major urban area in the Central Senatorial Zone. It is also situated on a main road and close to a major market, shops and several places of worship. In this religiously and ethnically mixed community most parents are traders and civil servants although some are also involved in farming, which is true of the LGA more generally. While the Lakka are regarded as the area's indigenous ethnic group, the major ethnic groups represented in the school's locality and in the LGA are Hausa, Hausa-Fulani, who are Muslim, and the predominantly Christian Lakka, Yoruba and Igbo communities. Pupils interviewed also mentioned communicating in the following languages at home: Igbo, Yoruba, Bali, Idoma and Igala, however, the language of interaction within the wider community and in the school is Hausa. The LGA within which the school is located comprises a large flat urban area with a population of just below 200,000, according to the most recent census. Consequently, many houses have access to potable water, electricity, medical facilities, and to other essential goods and services.

Kilfi Primary School

Kilfi Primary School is located in the Central Senatorial Zone on the edge of a major urban area in a predominantly Muslim residential setting surrounded by a mixture of very wealthy and very poor housing. Most parents are farmers. The major ethnic group in the locality is the Hausa-Fulani, including nomadic pastoralists but there are also Vere, Bata and Laka, among other ethnic groups. Thus, Fulfulde and Hausa are the most widely spoken community languages. Other home languages mentioned included: Yungur, Bare, Mopa, Kanuri, Yandang, Chamba, Vere, Ewatiye, Igbo, Higgi and Bata. The wider LGA is predominantly rural with both hilly and flat terrain, with a population of around 200,000, according to the most recent census. The main agricultural activities are farming and fishing with rice a major cash crop. The population is mainly Muslim with the Hausa-Fulani the main ethnic group, including a significant population of nomadic pastoralists, according to LGEA officials.

Doya Primary School

Doya Primary School is a rural school located some distance from the nearest urban area in the Southern Senatorial Zone. The population of the local community is estimated at around 2,000, according to the head teacher, and is predominantly Muslim, with Chamba the main ethnic group alongside some Mumuye. These are the common local languages. There is a market nearby, and a dispensary attached to a church, which dates from missionary times, on the edge of the school compound. There are also several mosques a little further away. Most parents are involved in animal husbandry and farming though a few are civil servants. Yams are grown as a cash crop. The LGA, which is within easy access of Cameroon, is predominantly rural and hilly with most people involved in farming and petty trading. The relatively small LGA population of 150,000, according to the most recent census, comprises the main indigenous ethnic group, the Chamba, who are both Muslim and Christian, and the Muslim Hausa-Fulani.

Baobab Primary School

Baobab Primary School is located in a low-income residential area on the edge of a major town, in a religiously and ethnically mixed community in the Southern Senatorial Zone. The population of the local community is estimated at around 20,000, according to the head teacher, and there are

several markets, places of worship and two medical facilities in the vicinity. Most parents are said to be farmers with some engaged in fishing, and a few are civil servants. The Mbula and the Bachama are the indigenous ethnic groups and with the Hausa and Hausa-Fulani they comprise the main ethnic groups in the LGA. Consistent with this, their respective languages predominate within the LGA area, the community and the school and Hausa is the main language of interaction. Other ethnic groups include Kanakuru, Baguddiri, Barebari and Waja. The wider LGA comprises a fairly large, primarily flat, rural area with a large urban centre, and has a population of just below 100,000, according to the most recent census. There is substantial rice and maize farming in the area, which is served by two major rivers, on the banks of which lie many of the LGA's village settlements. Migrant fishing communities also inhabit these areas.

2.5.2 Methods and respondent sample

Data collection predominantly took place in the case study schools. In addition, national, state, and school documents and statistics were gathered and interviews with LGEA- and state-level officers, including ADSUBEB members and other senior educationalists, were conducted.

Case studies

The case study design is shown below in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Case study data collection plan

Data type	Source
Statistics	School & community profile form Pupil statistics form
Interviews	Head teacher x 1 Teachers x 3 (whose teaching was observed) Pupil group interviews x 4 (2 girls, 2 boys) PTA representative(s) x1 SBMC representative(s) x1 Community leader x 1 Education secretary x 1 School supervisor x 1 Parent group interviews x 1 (4-6) Opportunistic informal interviews (e.g. hawkers, out-of-school children, school security officers)
Observations	Upper-grade lessons x 6 School observation x 1

Within each case study a range of data were collected, including from documents, school and community data sheets, observations, individual interviews and group interviews with stakeholders in the school and community (See Appendix I). Not all the data stipulated in the plan were made available in each case and not all respondents were accessible, willing and/or felt able to contribute to the studies. After several successive researcher visits to each case study school and their LGEA offices, the research team managed to gather data from 258 respondents listed below in Table 2.4.

As a whole there were more males than females consulted and equal numbers of Muslims and Christians. The under-representation of females is particularly noticeable in the LGEA and among the community respondents. This is a worrying sign of endemic gender discrimination, some of which is of specific concern for ADSUBEB, and is discussed in later chapters.

At the less formal level during the course of the case study research, conversations took place with a range of interested respondents. These included children and young people who were

prefects, a head girl, a head boy, class monitors in lower primary grades, overage pupils, JSS pupils, former pupils of the case study and other schools, out-of-school pupils, groups of young, male school leavers. Other teachers and community members engaged with included female hawkers, random community members, civil servants, women whose children were not in school, a teacher in charge of the school farm, a teacher counsellor and a former teacher.

Table 2.4 Total respondents from all case studies

Participant group	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	Total
School – staff (head teacher, teachers)	13	18	11	20	31
School – pupils	78	80	80	78	158
Community (parents, PTA, SBMC, community leaders)	9	45	31	23	54
LGEA (including ES, SS)	2	13	7	8	15
TOTAL	102	156	129	129	258

In all, 34 formal classroom observations were made in the case study schools. These were supplemented by formal and informal general school observations including in the early morning as pupils and teachers arrived at school, during assembly, at break times and during lesson times. Informal classroom observations were also made for part of a lesson or more incidentally as the school was in session.

State-level staff interviews

In addition to the data collected in the case study schools, a series of individual interviews were conducted with more than ten educational personnel with state-level administrative responsibilities. Their positions afforded them state-wide perspectives on aspects of educational administration, key access issues for the state, and broader perspectives on the contextual differences across Adamawa.

In the interests of confidentiality and anonymity these officers will not be listed here either by name or position of responsibility.

Secondary data

A significant part of the quantitative data incorporated into this study was drawn from a range of different sources. These included:

- Nigeria Demographic Health Survey (NDHS) (2008)
- Nigeria Education Data Survey (NEDS) (2010)
- Nigeria Population and Household (Census) (2006)
- Education Management Information System (EMIS) (2009/10)
- Adamawa School Census Data (2008/9) (2009/10)
- School and community profile form data (ASBER research instrument) (2010/11–12)
- School pupil statistics data (ASBER research instrument) (2010/11–12)

Each source included educational data that refer to one or more particular levels (national, regional, state, LGEA and/or school) collected using different methods (e.g. household survey, school returns) and collated and presented in different formats. We have drawn on all of these

data and associated reports listed above for descriptive rather than statistical purposes. We have also drawn on available policy and guidance documents from various levels of the educational administration and these are listed alongside academic texts in the reference list.

2.6 ANALYSIS

2.6.1 Framing the analysis

As a first stage in the preparation for this study we conducted a literature review that combined details of the Nigerian context related to current educational indicators and discussion of the main theoretical constructs against which the context is described and compared. We have drawn on the literature review to develop a picture of the national context, which is set out in the next chapter. Following on from this, in Chapter 4, we move to the state level, which provides a description of the circumscribing conditions for the school case study research and their reports (see Appendix I).

The emphasis in this research has been at the school level where, using a mixed-methods approach, we collected both quantitative and qualitative data. Informed by the literature review and guided by the research aims and questions, our analysis was framed by the three key elements elaborated in Section 2.3. The analysis was also based on a theorised position with respect to access and gender, as well as the relational framework (Fig. 2.1) that describes educational provision at the point of delivery. This more theoretical and schematic framing of the research focus was combined with knowledge of the local contexts and educational processes with the state and schools in the development of the instruments (see Appendix II).

The process of data collection within the case study schools took several researcher days and was spread over several months. Typical of case study research, analysis was an ongoing and iterative process over the different phases of data collection. Analysis of earlier respondent interviews was used constantly to inform the direction and depth of probing on successive case study visits. In all cases a final visit was made to each school site to make a data sweep for anything that remained outstanding.

2.6.2 Case study preparation, analysis and writing

Once most, if not all, the data from each case study were collected, the audio files, notes and photographs were prepared for analysis. Where there were multiple observations and respondents 'pre-grids' (see Appendix III) were used to display and summarise the data. These pre-grids were used for classroom observations, teacher interviews and pupil group interviews. The final step in the case study data preparation was the collection and review of the pre-grids with data collected only once from individual observations or single stakeholder interviews (e.g. head teacher, school supervisor). The first step in the case study analysis was the completion of five analytical grids (see Appendix III) for every case study. These grids were used to organise specific stakeholder views under agreed headings informed by the literature, contextual familiarity and empirical limitations of the study i.e. the available data in the case studies.

The five grids titles (A–E) and their sub-headings are shown in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5 Analytical grid headings

A. In-classroom	B. In the compound	C. Other school issues
<i>Seating arrangements</i>	<i>Compound condition</i>	<i>School facilities</i>
<i>Classroom condition</i>	<i>Official routines</i>	<i>School management of staff</i>
<i>Resources</i>	<i>Teacher activities</i>	<i>School management of pupils</i>
<i>Pedagogy</i>	<i>Pupil–pupil relations</i>	
<i>Discipline</i>	<i>Security</i>	
<i>Pupil–pupil relations</i>		
D. Community		E. LGEA
<i>Socio-economic activities</i>		<i>Internal relations</i>
<i>Family</i>		<i>School governance</i>
<i>Religion & ethnicity</i>		<i>LGEA–school support</i>
<i>Educational choice</i>		<i>LGEA–community relations</i>
<i>Community-school relations</i>		

In each grid there were 12 columns that provided space for the cross-tabulation of stakeholder views and observations with the issues listed in row sub-headings in each analytical grid. These columns included: Researcher observations, Pupil views, Others A views, Teacher views, Head teacher views, SBMC views, PTA views, Parent views, Community stakeholder views, Education Secretary views, School Supervisor views and Other B views. The Other A & B views were intended to capture opportunistic interviews in that school setting. The grids for each case study were displayed so that a cross-stakeholder analysis could be facilitated separately for each case study school. Following this, the write-up for each case study was conducted⁴ (see Appendix I). Fig. 2.2 illustrates this process from data collection to written school case studies.

⁴ Note that some of the quotations given in the case study reports are written in the original Hausa and translated into English on the page; other quotations were translated into English prior to being written down, and a few are actually quotations given by the respondent in English.

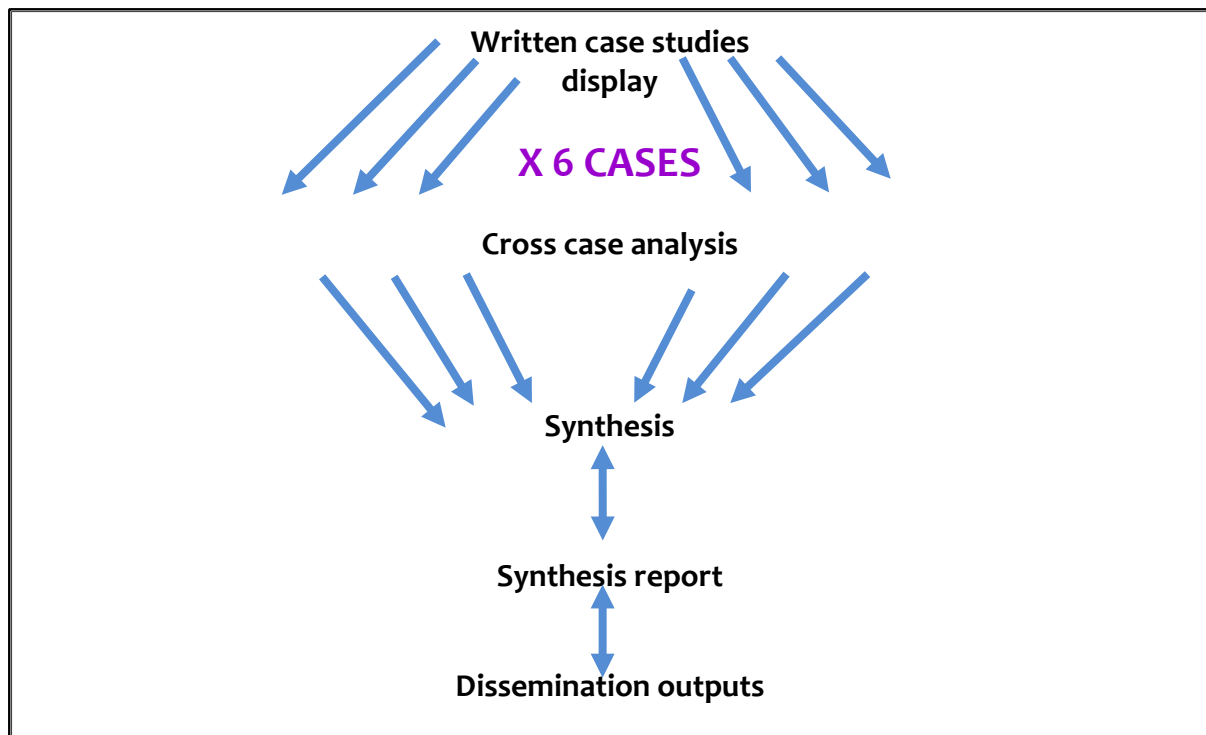


Figure 2.3 From case study to synthesis report

2.7 LIMITATIONS

As always with research it is important to recognise certain limitations. Time, for example, is always a constraint that bears on the depth and quality of data and its analysis. Communication is also crucial, particularly in this kind of nuanced, qualitative inquiry based on observations and interviews. This applies both to interactions between the research team and case study respondents as well as within the team. In all cases the communications were inter-cultural, which opened the space for mis-communication and mis-understanding. Given the diversity of the cultural and social backgrounds (e.g. gender, wealth, ethnicity or religion), language and seniority of researchers and respondents engaged in the study, interview data were not always subject to checking to make the meanings of comments and dialogue clear.

This collaborative case study research involved researchers who brought different knowledge and understandings to the team. The balance of research experience and knowledge of the local context required significant attention. In this respect a critical disposition towards research needed to be developed through the process of engaging in the case studies. So, for example, in the initial research encounters, stock answers and standard responses from respondents were sometimes taken at face value and left without probing. This was to some extent exacerbated by those more familiar with schools and the social contexts. Indeed, an extra benefit of including researchers from different national contexts was to make aspects of the familiar appear ‘strange’. Over the research period this critical research disposition strengthened and was extended to include respondent interviews, researcher observations and data analysis. This capacity is fundamental to high-quality, case study research.

The school was the central base of empirical data collection, before the focus was widened to include stakeholders within the community and educational administration. Inevitably, therefore, school stakeholders dominated and indeed were more numerous than the community and educational administrators added together (see Table 2.5). The tendency, therefore, was to focus

on conditions and relations within the school rather than relations between the stakeholder groups as depicted in Figure 2.1. Interaction with educational administrators, the more powerful stakeholders in the delivery of education, provided less rich data and thus more limited understandings of what lies behind educational provision. Similarly, the multiple perspectives of community members have also remained in the shadow of the school-level data.

At the same time as the research was exploring power relations within the empirical field, these power relations, in turn, influenced the quality of the researcher-respondent relations and ultimately the quality of the data gathered. These relations have a fundamental influence on what is sayable (to whom and by whom) and what it may be safe to say without repercussions. Difficulties with disclosure were exacerbated in the more authoritarian institutions though they were ameliorated, to an extent, by the use of group interviews, reference to observations within interviews and an avoidance of an inspectorial tone by the researchers. Nevertheless, there were many occasions when respondents provided answers that repeated the official picture rather than providing their own perspective on how things 'really' were. At times, as discussed earlier, these stock answers were not probed by the researchers, and opportunities to get more nuanced responses were missed. The key point here is that although the research set out to look at social relations surrounding the case study schools, it was itself limited by power and authority relations between the researchers and their respondents.

Another limitation lies with the quantitative data drawn on to describe the case study, LGEA, state and national contexts. Despite our strenuous and persistent efforts to compile these quantitative data, they remained elusive. Extensive and very time-consuming attempts to engage in some statistical manipulation of data failed, as its quality and consistency were constantly thrown into doubt. This is a key issue that will be re-stated in the recommendations since at a fundamental level these data are needed to provide an important perspective on what is happening in primary education across the state and in particular LGEAs. It is vital information for the Adamawa road map towards UBE. Though doubts about data quality remain, in this research we have been forced to use quantitative data and secondary analysis in an eclectic way to provide descriptive and comparative accounts of the different layers of the context (national, zonal, state, LGEA and school). In addition, as other researchers assert: "Accurate, accessible disaggregated data must be a priority for any government committed to promoting gender equality." (British Council, 2012, p.4).

Unforeseen difficulties with electrical power, internet access, telephones, fuel and vehicles frequently posed practical problems for the research team. Although attempts were made to deal with these constraints, time and energy was often lost as these challenges made case study research visits problematic, local and international electronic and telephone communications hard to sustain, and created conditions that were not conducive to research.

There was a massive learning curve for all involved in this study, which now, with the exception of the dissemination, has been successfully concluded. Points in this final section have raised some limitations but it is informative to note that not one of these is insurmountable. To a large extent the limitations indicate important learning points that could be explicitly drawn into the development and design of future research.

The next two chapters of this report deal with the context. Chapter 3 considers the national context and Chapter 4 moves on to elaborate the state context. Following this, Chapters 5–9 discuss key aspects of the case study findings, namely: infrastructure, teachers and teacher management, school management of pupils, teaching and learning and community relations. Chapter 10, the final chapter, draws conclusions and makes recommendations.

CHAPTER 3 THE NATIONAL CONTEXT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides background information on the national context of Nigeria, both in general terms and then, more specifically, in relation to education, focusing in particular on aspects of access to primary education.

Although estimates vary enormously, Nigeria is by far Africa's most populous country, topping 140 million, according to the most recent census in 2006 (NPC, 2010), but as many as 160 million according to other estimates. Over 10 million live in the country's commercial capital, Lagos, with the south-eastern states and Kano in the north as the other more densely populated areas (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009). The national primary school-age (5–9 and 10–14) population is estimated at around 20 million and 16 million, respectively. For the 5–9 year group, the female to male ratio is 48% to 52% while for the 10–14 age group the ratio is 47% to 53%. In all, the primary-school age population (6–12) accounts for about 20% of the total national population figure (FME, 2009a).

Since the return to democratic civilian rule in 1999, Nigeria has become one of the world's fastest growing economies; it boasted an annual GDP per capita of 6% from 2001–2007 (UNDP, 2009), not least because it is Africa's greatest exporter of crude oil. Oil and gas revenues are the main earners of foreign exchange, providing 80% of government revenue, and contributing 27% to GDP though they only employ 1% of the population. In contrast, over 50% of the population are engaged in agriculture – primarily subsistence agriculture, which contributes a further 42% to GDP. Nigeria's estimated 6.5 million pastoral nomads control over 90% of Nigeria's cattle (Umar and Tahir, 2000). Declining manufacturing and expanding service industries are other notable contributors to the economy (UNDP, 2009).

Having gained independence from British colonial rule in 1960, the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN) now comprises 36 states, plus the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Abuja, grouped into six geo-political zones: South East, South South and South West; North Central, North West and North East, in which Adamawa State is located. These zones are further subdivided into 774 local government areas.

Over 250 diverse ethnic groups live in Nigeria (Levinson, 1998). The largest group is the Hausa-Fulani (29% of the population), who predominantly inhabit the north; the Yoruba (21%) originate from the South West; the Igbo (18%) live in the South East and the Ijaw (10%) are concentrated in the South South (CIA, 2011). The three most widely used national languages, unsurprisingly, are Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo though there are over 500 other national languages (www.ethnologue.com) in addition to the official language, which is English. The three dominant language groups together are popularly called 'wazobia', a coinage from 'wa' 'zo and 'bia', meaning 'come' in each of the three main languages. This is part of the effort to promote national unity and inter-ethnic integration in the country. In terms of religion, around 50% of the population are Muslim, predominantly inhabiting the northern states, with 40% Christian, residing more in the south, though this is a gross oversimplification; about 10% of the populace practise some form of traditional religion (CIA, 2011). The 2008 Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) indicates that most households (81%) in the country are headed by males though female-headed household are more common in rural areas than in urban areas (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009).

Major health challenges include malaria, and child and maternal mortality; pregnancy-related death is one of the leading causes of death for women (15–49) in Nigeria, which still has one of the world's highest rates of child mortality (Boston University Center for Global Health and

Development, 2009), though figures are gradually improving (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009). HIV/AIDS is another concern; though infection rates have slowed, Nigeria's huge population means that nevertheless around 3.3 million people are living with HIV, according to 2009 estimates (www.unaids.org). In particular, the country has one of the highest numbers in the world of children living with HIV and around a quarter of Nigeria's estimated 9.7million orphans are calculated to have become orphaned on account of the virus (Boston University Center for Global Health and Development, 2009). Child poverty and malnutrition is of increasing concern, as are escalating numbers in child labour – an estimated 39% of children aged 5–14 (FOS/ILO, 2001; Boston University Center for Global Health and Development, 2009), which relates to increased levels of adult poverty, and is likely to impact heavily on enrolment, attendance and retention in schools.

3.1.1 Social inequalities

In spite of an abundance of human and material resources, the majority of Nigerians still live in poverty (UNDP, 2009; World Bank, 2011). Exclusion of certain groups from access to basic services, land and employment, and from decision-making processes, which influence the allocation of resources, contributes to the creation and sustenance of poverty in the country (DfID Nigeria, 2008). In particular, serious inequalities exist between urban and rural areas, southern and northern states, richer and poorer households, non-farming and farming households, and between women and men (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009; UNDP, 2009). The northern states have above average poverty levels, with the North East Zone experiencing the highest poverty incidence (*ibid.*).

As the Human Development Report Nigeria 2008–2009 (UNDP, 2009) also emphasizes, gender inequalities are marked: men, on average, have better access to education, employment, land and credit, as well as better wages and treatment under the law, and customary law in particular. The report goes on to note that although women make up the majority of the agricultural workforce, their more limited access to resources is often mediated through men, and female-headed households have smaller and inferior plots of land (Saito, Mekonnen and Spurling, 2004, cited in UNDP, 2009). Additionally, women are often denied inheritance rights by customary and Islamic laws (Para-Mallam, 2010), are less involved in household decision-making, and many experience high levels of domestic violence (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009).

Table 3.1 Selected core welfare indicators, 2006

Indicator	National average	Rural	Poor rural	Urban	Poor urban	North East	South West
Access to safe water	50.9%	39.6%	18.9%	72.8%	28.5%	30.3%	73.1%
Access to safe sanitation	13.8%	5.6%	0.5%	29.7%	2.6%	3.0%	23.1%
Electricity	54.1%	38.1%	12.1%	85.3%	29.8%	29.5%	78.1%
Improved waste disposal	15.8%	4.7%	1.6%	37.3%	1.9%	6.1%	35.5%
Adult literacy rate 15–24 (in any language)	64.2%	56.9%	42.5%	78.6%	50.7%	40.7%	78.5%
Male	73.0%	66.7%	51.8%	85.2%	58.9%	50.6%	85.9%
Female	55.4%	47.3%	33.8%	71.8%	43.2%	30.4%	71.3%
Access to primary	74.6%	70.5%	39.6%	85.6%	34.4%	70.2%	87.5%
Access to secondary	46.3%	36.6%	9.6%	68.2%	13.4%	35.3%	68.6%
Access to medical health services	54.1%	46.6%	15.3%	69.7%	15.3%	47.3%	72.3%

Source: adapted from UNDP 2009, p.71

Table 3.1 illustrates some of these inequalities in relation to selected core development indicators, comparing national averages with figures for the North East, which includes Adamawa State, and the South West, which is generally the most developed zone. The table also highlights differences between and within rural and urban locations. Across the indicators poor populations are below the national average in terms of access to services and literacy levels. Conditions are worse for poor populations in rural areas than poor populations in urban areas (with the exception of access to primary schooling) though access to safe sanitation and improved waste disposal remains very low across the whole country. Beyond these regional inequalities, there are variations in access to basic services across states, and within states across LGAs.

3.2 THE NIGERIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

Education is seen as a key instrument for achieving Nigeria's national development goals of sustained, equitable socio-economic development and the eradication of poverty (FRN, 2004b; FME, 2009b). As a proportion of GDP, Nigeria's expenditure on education by both regional and global standards is high (World Bank, 2006) yet worryingly there has been an increase in the number of children out of school, which is currently estimated to be over 8.6 million (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2011).

Achieving the country's educational development goals is primarily envisaged through the state sector, which follows the usual tripartite arrangement of primary, secondary (divided into three years of junior secondary and three years of senior secondary) and post-basic education. Post-basic education can comprise three years of senior secondary schooling, a three-year science and technology programme or continuing education in a vocational institution (NPC and RTI International, 2011). Given the ever increasing demands for basic education (pre-primary, primary and junior secondary), the government now explicitly acknowledges the need to include non-state providers as a means of achieving its educational aims, provided they meet government standards (FRN, 2004b; Larbi *et al.*, 2004). These include for-profit schools, religious schools (generally Muslim or Christian) which include some secular curriculum, and voluntary or community-based institutions.

The official age for entering Primary 1 is six years old. There is now a system of automatic promotion and the Primary School Leaving Certificate awarded at the end of Primary 6 is no longer supposed to be a standard terminal exam but based purely on continuous assessment (FRN, 2004b). However, in reality, practices vary.

State education at the federal level is directed by the government-funded Federal Ministry of Education (FME), under which lies the more recently formed Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC), whose responsibilities are outlined more fully below. Though a government-funded department, it is also supported by international development agencies such as UNICEF (in particular), DFID, UNESCO, and the World Bank, and supported on the ground by various local and international NGOs. At state level, SUBEBs are responsible for basic education, while within each LGA the LGEA is responsible. Nevertheless, there are both overlaps and tensions in functions between the Local Government Council (LGC) of the LGA, the LGEA and SUBEBs, which in some cases are exacerbated by political interference, poor communication and a lack of transparency and trust among actors (Williams, 2009; Santcross *et al.*, 2010). For example in Adamawa State, where the state UBE law makes provision for the establishment of Local Education Committee (LECs) at the community level, committees are yet to be established by the state government more than five years after the law was enacted.

Figure 3.1 shows the overlapping roles and functions of the three main bodies involved in implementing UBE at the state level.

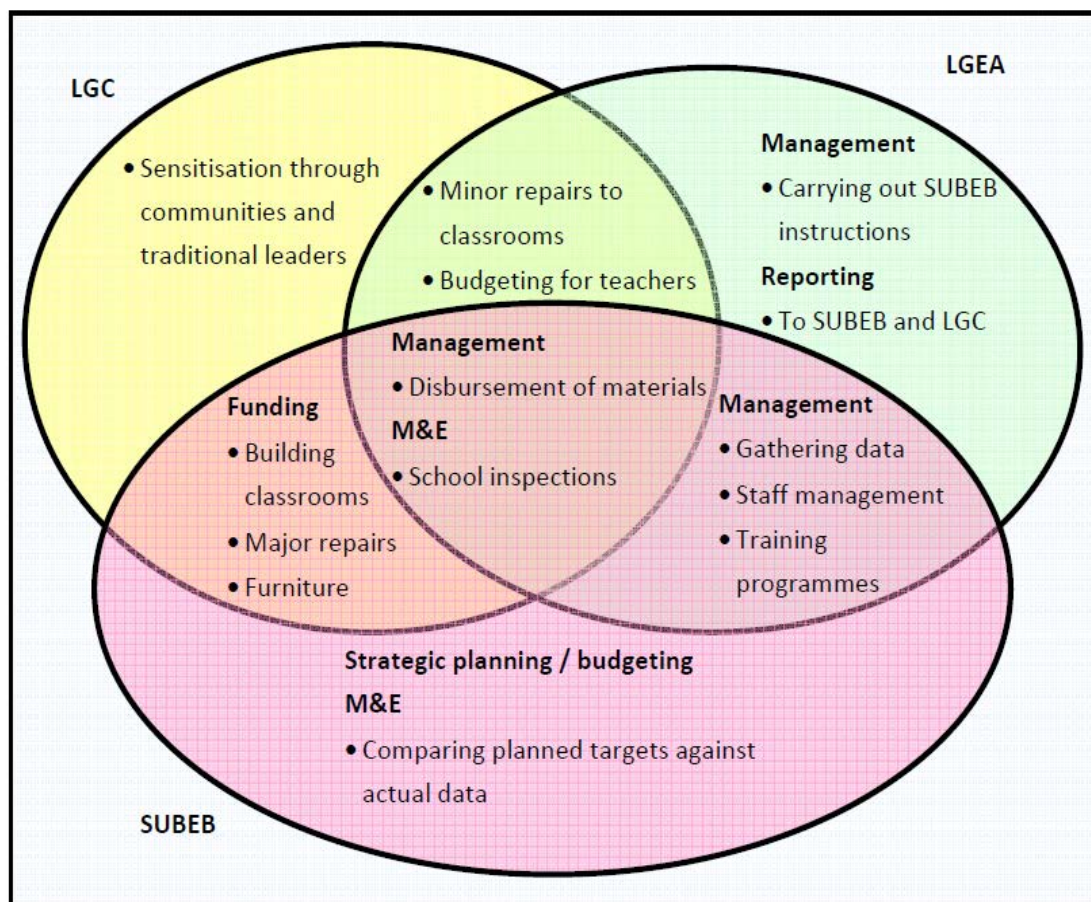


Figure 3.1 Roles and functions of different educational actors.

Source: Williams, 2009, p.15

3.3 UNIVERSAL BASIC EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

3.3.1 Public schools

The Federal Government of Nigeria formally launched the Universal Basic Education Programme in September, 1999, allocating 46 billion Naira (equivalent to US\$460 million) in the project's first year to support the programme (Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), 2000). However, when the FGn attempted to make deductions at source from the monthly financial allocations of states and LGAs for the UBE programme, it was taken to court. The High Court ruling that the deductions were unlawful caused a major setback but eventually, in 2004, the UBE programme was given full legal backing with the enactment of the Compulsory, Free, Universal Basic Education Act (FRN, 2004a). The act provides for nine years of compulsory and free continuous basic education, which comprises six years of primary and three years of junior secondary schooling. Central to programme implementation is a counterpart funding arrangement, which entails each state passing a UBE Law and depositing its counterpart fund before it can access the FGn funds. To date, several states have still not begun to access their funds (Umejei, 2011). Moreover, funding from the UBE Intervention Fund has to be spent in specific ways: 70% on infrastructure, 15% on instructional materials and 15% on teacher development.

Despite federal and state government legislation which prohibits payment of fees of any kind in public basic education schools, there is substantial evidence that most households are forced to pay for schooling, either directly – through fees and PTA levies or provision of uniforms and textbooks, for example – or indirectly, through loss of child labour (Sunal *et al.*, 2003; Flett *et al.*, 2005, cited in Theobald *et al.*, 2007; Lincove, 2009; NPC and RTI International, 2011). This is partly due to shortfalls in government funding and variations in government spending across states, with much higher shares allocated to the south, and even greater variations across LGEAs (Santcross *et al.*, 2010).

While the implementation of UBE at the federal level rests with UBEC, SUBEBs were established in all states to implement the UBE programme at state level. As mentioned above, although essentially government funded and administered, the federal government has more recently recognised that in order to achieve UBE, the state sector needs to work alongside the rapidly expanding private sector and together with religious schools (FRN, 2004b; FME, 2009b).

Nomadic education

Nigeria's estimated 9.3 million nomadic population essentially comprises nomadic pastoralists (6.5 million) and migrant fishing communities (2.8 million) (FRN, 2004b), which predominantly inhabit the northern states. Since 1990 nomadic communities have been served by the National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE), which was established to help address inequalities in educational participation (Usman, 2006, 2008). Strategies include mobile schools, a more relevant skills-based curriculum and mother-tongue teaching where possible (Umar and Tahir, 2000; Usman, 2006). Adamawa State was the first state to launch the Nomadic Education Programme in 1998, establishing the first pilot nomadic school (see Chapter 4). Nevertheless, some state and local governments have been accused of failing to co-ordinate their activities to support the programme and not effectively monitoring what is going on in the schools (Aderinoye, Ojokheta and Olojede, 2007).

Enrolment rates for children of nomadic families generally remain low (lower than the national average), with literacy rates similarly low (Usman, 2006). Numbers attending school, however, have steadily been rising; between 2004 and 2008 alone, nomadic pupil enrolment increased by around a third, from approximately 7,000 to just over 10,000. The improvement in pupil enrolments has been matched by an increase in the number of nomadic primary schools and a doubling of the number of teachers, resulting in better teacher–pupil ratios (NPC and RTI International, 2011). Recent figures for the North East indicate almost 68, 000 pupils are now enrolled in 508 nomadic schools, taught by 860 teachers (NCNE, 2008).

Theobald *et al.* (2007) assert that most work in nomadic education and mass literacy is being championed by individual states. In Jigawa, for example, goats are being offered to nomadic families as an incentive for them to enrol children in school (Jigawa State, 2010). See Chapter 4 for Adamawa State's initiatives regarding nomadic schools. Despite improvements, however, there is still a tremendous shortfall in nomadic classrooms, teachers and pupil enrolments as an estimated 3.1 million (out of 3.5 million) nomadic and migrant children remain out of school (FME, 2009b).

3.3.2. Non-state providers

Private sector

Growth of the private sector can be traced to a combination of public dissatisfaction with pupil learning outcomes, as evidenced in mass failure in public examinations, and prolonged mass teachers' strikes (NPC and RTI International, 2011) and in the non-availability or poor condition of government schools (Härma, 2011a, 2011b). No longer the exclusive privilege of the elite (Tooley,

Dixon and Olaniyan, 2005), low-cost private education has proliferated since the 1970s, especially in southern states and in urban and peri-urban areas (Urwick, 2002; Larbi *et al.*, 2004; Tooley, Dixon and Olaniyan, 2005; NPC and RTI International, 2011). The 2010 NEDS indicates that nationally 26% of primary enrolments are now in private schools⁵, an increase of 8% from the 2004 survey, but regional variations are considerable (NPC and RTI International, 2011). For example in both Enugu and Lagos States there are more private than public primary schools (Enugu State Ministry of Education, 2010; Härma, 2011a). There is a similar expansion of the private sector in secondary and higher education (World Bank, 2006; Yusuf, Saint and Nabeshima, 2009; NPC and RTI International, 2011).

Islamic education

In the northern states, in particular, Islamic schools constitute a major proportion of educational provision. An estimated 9.5 million school children are in Qur'anic schools nationally, with 8.5 million in the north (UBEC, 2010, cited in Hoechner, 2011). For example, in the most populous northern state of Kano in 2003 there were an estimated 23,000 Islamic schools to 4,000 government and private schools (ESSPIN, 2009).

The three main types of Islamic schools are: Qur'anic or Tsangaya schools, in which the main focus is on recitation of the Qur'an; the less numerous Ilmi schools, which are informal, ancient institutions of higher religious learning where senior Islamic scholars teach students about Islamic texts; and the more recently instituted Islamiyya, which provide a predominantly Islamic education but include some of the national curriculum (ESSPIN, 2009).

Recent initiatives by government are trying to include more Islamic schools in the provision of UBE (Theobald *et al.*, 2007; Usman, 2008; Hoechner, 2011), for example by providing secular literacy and numeracy teaching in Islamiyya schools, which can comprise up to 20% of the timetable (Theobald *et al.*, 2007). The Education Trust Fund (ETF) has been collaborating with Arewa House, Kaduna to establish model Integrated Islamiyya schools in Borno, Katsina, Kano, Bauchi and Yobe states, and hopes to accelerate more widespread integration of Qur'anic and modern formal education across the northern states. Thus, SUBEBS are now working together with state bodies that share responsibility for Islamic schooling, such as the Sharia Commission and the Islamic Education Department, though there is a perceived need to improve coordination and strengthen data gathering and monitoring (ESSPIN, 2009). Adamawa State too has been at the forefront of the drive to integrate Islamic schooling into mainstream education (see Chapter 4). To this end, UBEC has developed integrated curricula for Qur'anic schools in northern Nigeria (NERP 2005, cited in Theobald *et al.*, 2007). One positive outcome would appear to be an increase in girls' enrolments, which are now higher than boys' in some Islamiyya schools in Kano, Borno and Sokoto States (FME, 2007a).

3.3.3 Gender disparities

Gender disparities persist in participation at all levels of education nationally and across all zones that are symptomatic of more deep-rooted inequalities (Bakari, 2011). Generally, the higher up the educational ladder, the lower the levels of participation for both males and females though the gender gap persists (UNDP, 2009) and girls' completion rates are, on the whole, lower than for boys (British Council, 2012). Another disturbing trend, if the statistics are to be believed, is that an analysis of the NECO exam performances of female students at the end of secondary school have been deteriorating in recent years (2003–2007), with fewer reaching the threshold

⁵ In this survey 'private' includes religious schools that offer some of the national curriculum, e.g. Islamiyya, but not Tsangaya or purely Qur'anic schools.

five credits (British Council, 2012). At both secondary and tertiary level female students are substantially underrepresented in science and technology (World Bank, 2006; Salman, Olawoye, and Yahaya, 2011). Differences between male and female educational participation are greater in the northern states than in the southern states and in rural rather than urban areas (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009; UNDP, 2009; NPC and RTI International, 2011). However, the NBS figures for the South East in 2008 (see Table 3.2) show nearly 5,000 more girls registered than boys and the 2010 NEDS presents a GPI of 1.0 and 1.01 in the South East and South South, respectively (NPC and RTI International, 2011). Participation in ‘formal academic schooling’⁶ is also more restricted among Muslim girls, particularly in northern, rural areas (*ibid.*), though better in Islamiyya schools in some states (FME, 2007a).

The issue of lower participation in education for female children cannot be treated in isolation from the low adult literacy rate generally for women in Nigeria. For example, there is a positive correlation between girls’ participation in schooling, their mother’s educational level and household wealth (NBS, 2007; Lincove, 2009). The 2010 National Literacy Survey determined the adult literacy rate (in any language) at 71.1%: male literacy 79.3%, female 63.7% although in northern states the figures are much lower and the gender disparities wider (NBS and NMEC, 2010). Similar gender patterns were found in the youth literacy survey (*ibid.*). Moreover, given the limitation of the literacy test – the ability to read, though not necessarily understand, a single sentence – the levels of functional literacy are likely to be much lower.

Lower female participation at tertiary level is also likely to mean fewer qualified female teachers, who can provide important role models for female pupils (Aikman and Unterhalter, 2005; FME, 2007; USAID, 2009), especially in rural schools. To address this, the Female Teacher Trainee Scholarship Scheme (FTTSS) has been initiated in the states of Bauchi, Katsina, Niger and Sokoto, as part of the second Girls Education Project (GEP). The scheme is specifically designed “as a strategy to arrest the low supply of female teachers to rural schools; the resulting lack of female teacher role models; and the high vulnerability of girls to sexual harassment from male teachers and pupils” (Garuba, 2010, p.v). However, as a recent report noted (British Council, 2012), the near doubling of female teachers at secondary level has not been matched by a comparable increase in female enrolment at that level, suggesting perhaps that other factors are more important. Some of these are explored later in this chapter.

In 2007 a National Policy on Gender in Basic Education was established, focused on increasing girls’ participation (FME, 2007a) and several states have been taking positive steps to increase girls’ enrolment. For example, Kano State, in partnership with NGOs and CBOs, has started a major advocacy drive, especially in rural areas. In addition, it has abolished all forms of fees for girls and has established some girls-only schools at both primary and secondary levels; further, efforts are being made to increase the proportion of female teachers (Kano State, 2010). See Chapter 4 for initiatives in Adamawa State.

3.4 ACCESS TO PRIMARY EDUCATION

There are an estimated 8.6 million⁷ children not in school in Nigeria (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2011), which equates to around 23.9% of a total of the 36 million children within the 5–14 age cohort (NBS, 2009). In crude terms, this affects the north more than the south, rural areas more than urban, poorer households more than richer, and girls more than boys (NPC and RTI

⁶ This term is used in the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) section on Islamic schooling to include educational institutions that were not exclusively studying religious texts, such as Islamiyya schools.

⁷ Though according to the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2012 (UNESCO, 2012) that figure is 10.5 million, which may also point to the lack of reliable or consistent statistics in Nigeria.

International, 2011). In the northern areas in particular, fewer Muslim than non-Muslim children are participating in formal academic schooling (*ibid.*). As highlighted above, nomadic and migrant children constitute an important category of children with a particularly high percentage out of school, as do children with disabilities (Lang, 2008; Smith, 2011). A comparison of the NAR between the 2003 and 2008 NDHS, however, shows that the percentage of school-age children in primary schooling nationally has improved very slightly from 60.1% to 62.1% and in the North East, from 41.7% to 43.7%.

The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) gives the latest figures on school-age children who have never gone to school. Of all the 6 to 16-year-olds surveyed, 31% were reported as never attending school. Of these 90% were from rural areas, 51% from the lowest socio-economic quintile and 84% from the North East and North West regions. Over a third of parents/guardians of 6- or 7-year-olds who had not been in school the previous year said that it was because the child was too young for school.

Slightly more females (54%) than males (46%) were reported as having never attended school. Around half of 5 to 16-year-olds in the North East are estimated never to have been to school, compared to only 3% in the South East. Under 10% of parents nationally attributed non-enrolment in primary school to parents considering school to be “not important”, though the figure was highest, at 12%, in the North East.

We now consider aspects of access in greater detail, looking both at the national picture but focusing on the North East. The data presented principally derive from the 2008 NDHS (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009) and the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011). The 2010 NEDS is related to the 2008 NDHS in that it collected additional educational information from a subset of the NDHS sample (households with children 2–14) as well as extending the sample size to ensure sufficient numbers to make statistically significant observations at the state level. In addition, the tables taken from the 2010 NEDS report on the *de jure* household population (usual residents) whereas the 2008 NDHS tables refer to the *de facto* household population (people in the house at the time of the survey).

3.4.1 Primary school enrolment rates

Table 3.2 shows the NAR and GAR at the primary level from the 2008 NDHS (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009).

Table 3.2: Gender-disaggregated primary school enrolment (attendance) ratio by wealth quintile, residence and geo-political zone

Background characteristic	NET ATTENDANCE RATIO				GROSS ATTENDANCE RATIO			
	Female	Male	Total	GPI	Female	Male	Total	GPI
Wealth quintile								
Lowest	29.0	37.1	33.2	0.78	41.2	54.7	48.2	0.75
Second	49.3	59.1	54.2	0.83	68.3	84.8	76.5	0.81
Middle	70.5	76.2	73.5	0.93	95.7	105.0	100.5	0.91
Fourth	78.2	80.5	79.4	0.97	102.8	106.3	104.6	0.97
Highest	76.7	78.4	77.5	0.98	99.1	100.4	99.8	0.99
Residence								
Urban	72.2	75.9	74.1	0.95	95.5	99.5	97.5	0.96
Rural	53.5	60.3	57.0	0.89	72.7	84.4	78.7	0.86
Region								
North Central	69.2	71.7	70.5	0.97	97.8	104.4	101.2	0.94

North East	40.3	46.8	43.7	0.86	55.8	66.4	61.3	0.84
North West	37.1	49.8	43.4	0.75	49.2	68.4	58.7	0.72
South East	83.2	82.4	82.8	1.01	110.7	109.4	110.1	1.01
South South	80.1	80.1	80.1	1.00	105.6	109.1	107.4	0.97
South West	75.2	77.8	76.6	0.97	98.9	101.0	99.9	0.98
TOTAL	59.1	64.9	62.1	0.91	79.5	88.9	84.3	0.89

Source: 2008 NDHS, p.18 (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009)

It shows that, on the whole, a greater proportion of boys than girls are in primary school with notable zonal exceptions. Given the wide disparities between the NAR and GAR across the board (e.g. 53.5% NAR for rural females as opposed to 72.7% GAR), we can assume that numbers of overage pupils and/or repetition rates are high. The NAR and GAR are higher in urban areas than in rural areas for both female and male pupils though the gender gap is wider in rural areas, as reflected in the lower GPI figures for rural populations. Looking at household wealth, in broad terms the wealthier the family, the higher the proportion of children are in primary school and the narrower the gender gap is up until the fourth quintile. Then, there is a slight drop-off to the wealthiest quintile. Across the geo-political zones, there is a marked difference between the north and the south, with particularly low proportions of children enrolled in the North West and North East, which have GARs of 58.7 and 61.3, and NARs of 43.4 and 43.7, respectively. The gender disparities are also at their greatest in these two northern zones. In contrast, figures for North Central are comparable with those for the southern states. The South East and the South South have the highest GAR and NAR and the best figures for girls: the NAR in the South South shows gender parity with 80.1 for both females and males whereas in the South East, both GAR and NAR indicate a higher proportion of girls than boys enrolled in primary school, as reflected in the GPI (1.01 for both GAR and NAR). The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) shows that Adamawa State has the highest NAR for girls in the North East and the second highest figures for boys, at 55.4% and 59.4%, respectively.

3.4.2 Overage pupils

As the GAR in Table 3.2 indicates, many primary school children in Nigeria are overage. The definition of overage used by the NDHS is a child who is two or more years above the official age for that grade. There are huge variations in proportions of overage pupils both regionally and in terms of wealth and rural/urban location. In some regions, and among the poorer populations, the gender differences are also very marked.

Table 3.3: Gender-disaggregated distribution of overage, underage and on-time pupils at primary level by grade

Primary grade	Overage (%)			On-time (%)			Underage (%)		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
1	26.9	30.5	28.9	52.4	51.8	52.1	20.7	17.7	19.1
2	27.9	32.6	30.5	49.8	46.7	48.1	22.3	20.7	21.4
3	38.2	41.6	40.0	43.5	40.2	41.8	18.3	18.2	18.2
4	34.8	41.7	38.4	44.0	38.1	40.9	21.2	20.2	20.7
5	44.8	47.2	46.1	33.8	36.4	35.2	21.4	16.3	18.8
6	40.3	44.8	41.8	38.0	36.3	37.1	21.6	18.9	20.1
TOTAL	34.7	38.9	37.0	44.4	42.3	43.3	20.9	18.8	19.8

Source: 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) p.61

Table 3.3 shows the distribution of overage, on-time and underage pupils by gender for each grade. It indicates that on average, nationally, over a third of the population enrolled in primary

school are overage, with a greater percentage of boys being overage than girls. This is important because research across sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) shows that overage pupils are more likely to drop out of school, and that having high numbers of overage pupils in class can result in “psycho-social issues” (e.g. low self-esteem, bullying, sexual harassment) while increasing demands on teachers as they have to deal with the requirements of teaching pupils who may be at different stages of social and cognitive development (Lewin and Sabates, 2011). The percentage of overage pupils increases as pupils move through the grades on account of repetition, and/or dropout and re-enrolment. Conversely, the percentage of pupils who are enrolled at the right age for their grade decreases as children move up the grades. Very few pupils start school underage, though slightly more girls enrol than boys, and the proportion remains fairly constant.

The main reasons given in the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) for late enrolment in primary schools are the cost of schooling, affecting just under a third of pupils, followed by around a quarter of parents considering their child to be too young. The latter reason is considered to apply to boys more than girls and was true for almost a quarter of respondents in the North East. The lack of, or distance to, school is also an important factor in overage enrolment in Primary 1 in the North East for around a fifth of children, above the national average of 12.7%.

3.4.3 Primary school repetition rates

Table 3.4 shows repetition rates for primary school. Despite an official policy in government schools of automatic promotion (FRN, 2004b), numerous pupils repeat years. Repetition rates are highest, by some margin, in Primary 6, which shows a substantial increase from figures in any of the other five grades. This is a common pattern, however, probably related in some way to the completion of the primary cycle. Primary 1 shows the second highest percentage of repeaters. In Primary 6, there is wide variation of repetition across the geo-political zones: North Central has 11.1% of pupils repeating Primary 6, double the percentage of repeaters found in the North East and South West, which have the next highest percentage of repeaters at 5.5% and 5.2%, respectively. In these two key grades of Primary 6 and Primary 1, the proportion of boys repeating the year is higher than that of girls though there is no clear pattern in the other grades. Similarly, rural rates for repetition are higher than urban rates in Primary 1 and 6, but with no discernible trend in between. There is no clear pattern across wealth quintiles. However, if the patterns shown in Table 3.3 are correct, the figures in Table 3.4 are likely to be under representations.

Table 3.4: Gender-disaggregated repetition rates (%) at primary level for each grade by wealth quintile, residence and geo-political zone

Background characteristic	Primary school grade					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Wealth quintile						
Lowest	2.8	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.0	4.1
Second	2.7	2.9	2.7	1.3	1.2	4.9
Middle	2.8	2.2	1.8	1.4	1.2	5.4
Fourth	2.6	2.3	2.3	2.5	2.0	3.3
Highest	1.8	2.0	1.5	1.7	0.4	5.2
Residence						
Urban	2.3	2.1	2.5	1.8	0.8	4.4
Rural	2.7	2.3	1.7	1.7	1.5	4.7
Gender						
Female	2.5	2.1	2.3	2.1	1.4	3.5
Male	2.6	2.3	1.7	1.3	1.1	5.6

Region						
North Central	4.0	3.4	4.7	2.4	2.2	11.1
North East	1.0	1.4	1.9	0.9	0.7	5.5
North West	2.9	3.1	2.0	2.5	1.2	3.0
South East	2.0	1.3	1.5	1.6	0.8	2.4
South South	2.6	1.9	0.5	1.0	1.4	1.4
South West	2.0	1.6	1.5	1.4	0.9	5.2
TOTAL	2.6	2.2	2.0	1.7	1.2	4.6

Source: 2008 NDHS, p.19 (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009)

3.4.4. Primary school dropout rates

Patterns for dropout are similar to those for repetition with figures for dropout highest in Primary 6 by a substantial margin and with great variation according to geo-political zone and wealth quintile. Pupils in the lowest quintile are almost five times more likely to drop out of school in Primary 6 than pupils in the richest quintile. This is not surprising given that the most common reason cited in the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) for pupils aged 4–16 dropping out of primary school is the monetary cost of schooling. The much higher figures in Primary 6 are also unsurprising since Primary 6 represents the end of the primary cycle and because figures include both pupils who dropped out of school during the year and those who were “pushed-out” on account of the shortage, or inaccessibility, of JSS provision, which is particularly acute in rural areas (NPC and RTI International, 2011).

Figures from Primary 1 to 5 are very low, almost all under 1%, though overall trends still indicate the tendency towards increasing proportions of pupils dropping out the poorer the household. At the zonal level, it is again only in Primary 6 that numbers are high enough to see marked patterns. In the southern states, dropout rates are lower than in the northern states, ranging from 4.7% in the South West to 17.9% in the North East. Gender differences are slight across the grades until Primary 6, when girls are more likely to drop out (12.9%), on average, than boys (10.3%). Similarly, in Primary 6, children from rural populations (14.1%) are almost twice as likely to drop out of school as children from urban populations (7.5%).

Table 3.5: Dropout rates (%) at primary level for each grade by wealth quintile, residence, gender and geo-political zone

Background characteristic	Primary school grade					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Wealth quintile						
Lowest	0.6	0.2	1.0	1.4	0.3	24.8
Second	0.5	0.1	0.8	0.4	0.8	19.5
Middle	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.6	0.3	11.2
Fourth	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3	8.3
Highest	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.5	5.0
Residence						
Urban	0.7	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.4	7.5
Rural	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.6	0.5	14.1
Gender						
Female	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.6	12.9
Male	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.4	10.3
Region						
North Central	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.3	15.0
North East	1.2	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.5	17.9
North West	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.4	17.2

South East	0.1	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.6	9.9
South South	0.3	0.0	0.6	0.8	0.8	12.7
South West	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	4.7
TOTAL	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	11.6

Source: 2008 NDHS, p.19 (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009)

Although numbers formally dropping out of school may be low, substantial evidence from the literature (see Appendix IV) and the study we are reporting on here indicate that many pupils who are theoretically enrolled in, or are attending school, are actually out of school for much of the time. For example, in the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011), about a third of all children admitted to missing at least one day the previous month with the average number of days absent being 5.5, which is effectively a quarter of the month in terms of school days. The figure for Adamawa State is even higher at 6.3 days, the highest figures in the North East. Absenteeism is higher in the rural than urban areas with little difference between girls or boys. As both the literature and our case study research data show, many children miss days or sometimes whole weeks to engage in agriculture, petty trading, domestic work, or are absent from class due to illness, caring for others who are ill, or due to school-related factors such as avoiding punishment or bullying, or because the teachers themselves are absent.

3.4.5 Education of Muslim children

The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) includes a section on the education of Muslim children (aged 4–16) in Nigeria. It is reported here both because numbers of Muslim children are very high in Adamawa State and because Muslim children are less likely to be in school than non-Muslim children (*ibid.*). Table 3.6 shows the percentage of young Muslims attending Qur’anic school (ones which only teach the Qur’an), formal academic school (which may undertake religious teaching but also teaches subjects such as maths, e.g. Islamiyya schools), both academic and religious, or neither.

Table 3.6: Types of education for Muslim children aged 4–16 by wealth quintile, residence, gender and geo-political zone

Background characteristic	Types of school currently attending			
	Formal academic	Qur’anic	Both academic and Qur’anic	Neither type
Wealth quintile				
Lowest	22.0	55.1	12.1	34.9
Second	41.8	52.1	19.9	25.9
Middle	61.2	45.8	27.5	20.4
Fourth	76.2	47.8	37.4	13.4
Highest	90.2	50.4	47.2	6.6
Residence				
Urban	74.9	49.7	37.9	13.3
Rural	40.1	51.6	19.4	27.7
Gender				
Female	45.0	50.5	21.1	25.6
Male	53.5	51.6	27.3	22.2
Region				
North Central	61.7	57.3	36.0	17.0
North East	36.0	45.0	15.8	34.8
North West	42.7	52.4	19.4	24.3

South East	87.7	9.6	9.6	12.3
South South	96.0	28.6	27.2	2.6
South West	87.4	53.2	48.9	8.2
TOTAL	49.4	51.1	24.3	23.8

Source: 2010 NEDS, p.72 (NPC and RTI International, 2011)

The vast majority attend some kind of school be it Qur'anic, formal academic (at pre-primary, primary or junior secondary level) or both; but just under a quarter attend neither type of school. Only slightly more Muslim children attend a Qur'anic school (51%) than a formal academic school (49%) though variations according to household wealth and location (discussed below) are striking. Almost a quarter of Muslim youth (24.3%) attend both formal academic school and Qur'anic school. There are also notable gender differences in participation in formal academic schooling (girls: 45%; boys: 53.5%) Most notable is the relationship between the percentage of children participating in formal academic schooling and economic status; participation increases steadily with economic status, ranging from 22% in the poorest quintile to 90.2% in the richest quintile. Rural–urban differences are also evident; slightly more children are attending Qur'anic schools in rural areas than in urban areas, but in urban areas almost three quarters of Muslim children are in formal academic schooling whereas in rural areas, well under half are in school (40.1%). Regional variations are also substantial though it should be noted that the number of Muslim children in the sample for the South East and South South is very small. Leaving aside the anomalous South East and South South, the proportion of children attending Qur'anic schools remains relatively constant, irrespective of wealth, residence, region or gender, ranging only from 45% to 55.1%. Significantly, for the purposes of our research, the North East has the lowest percentage of Muslim children in formal academic schooling (36%) and the highest number in neither type of school (34.8%).

3.5 FACTORS AFFECTING ACCESS TO PRIMARY EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

This section very briefly reviews the literature related to access to primary schooling in Nigeria, and in relation to the case study data in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. Evidence here is drawn from national and international studies as well as from national surveys, in particular the two from which the statistical data presented in the previous section derive: the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011), and the 2008 NDHS (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009). As discussed in Chapter 2, factors affecting access to formal education (including issues of retention, dropout, quality and outcomes) depend upon the connections among and between the school, the community and educational administration as well as on the internal processes within these sectors. This summary of the literature is presented under these three headings although their interconnectedness should always be kept in mind.

3.5.1 Community

This section considers factors affecting primary school access at household and community level, with the latter implying multiple communities (residential, religious, ethnic, socio-economic etc.).

Poverty is a major determinant of whether children have the opportunity to attend school, and whether they manage to stay in school and/or have access to education of adequate quality. Although primary schooling is theoretically free for all, numerous studies have documented that many schools demand registration and/or examination fees and/or PTA levies (Urwick, 2002; Sunal *et al.*, 2003; Flett *et al.*, 2005, cited in Theobald *et al.*, 2007; NPC and RTI International, 2011). In addition, there are various recurrent direct costs, such as uniforms, textbooks and stationery and indirect or opportunity costs incurred through loss of child labour (see below) either in paid employment, or engaged in domestic tasks such as looking after siblings (Urwick, 2002; Sunal *et*

al., 2003; Lincove, 2009; NPC and RTI International, 2011). The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) found that around 60% of households were paying PTA levies, and almost all households had costs associated with books and supplies, with over 90% paying for school uniforms and other school materials, which, according to Lincove's (2009) study, constitute the main costs of schooling. Crucially, among parent/guardians whose children had never been to school NEDS 2010 reported that monetary costs constitute the third most common reason for non-enrolment (after distance to school and the need for child labour), affecting around a quarter of children, though the figure was higher for the North East at 36%. Moreover, cost was the most commonly cited cause of dropping out of primary school, affecting a third of dropouts nationally, though with a slightly lower percentage for the North East. It has also been found to affect girls' schooling in particular (see also Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). In Lincove's (2009) survey study of national data sets it was found that only 15% of children actually get free education and that free schooling was less likely in the North West and North East, in comparison with the southern regions; girls are less likely than boys, and Muslim pupils are less likely than non-Muslim pupils, to have free schooling.

Household inability to pay school fees or levies or to provide writing materials can result in children being denied admission to school, or being beaten by teachers, which in turn can be the cause of absenteeism and dropout (Flett *et al.* cited in Theobald *et al.*, 2007; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011, British Council, 2012). Pupils themselves will often be absent from school to earn money specifically to pay for educational costs (FOS/ILO, 2001; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011).

Nevertheless, the relationship between poverty and enrolment in schooling is not straightforward as other factors such as educational quality and potential gains from schooling come into play. Even poor families are prepared to pay to send children to school (Lincove, 2009; Härma, 2011b) though consideration of educational quality, however it is defined, is an important factor (Sunal *et al.*, 2003). Data from the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) back this up by reporting that nationally poor quality was a reason for not attending school (16.8%) and for drop out (10.9%). In the North East poor quality was cited more often than in all other states as a reason for not sending children to school (28.6%) and for drop out (10.9%). The main consideration by parents for primary school selection included school proximity (53%, and 76% in the North East) whereas least expensive was only identified by 13% of households nationally and only 5% in the North East. Contradictorily, costs were cited as reasons for starting late (31.7%, and 29.7% in the North East) and not attending at all (25.3%, with 35.5 in the North East).

Household needs for child labour or work constitute a major reason why some children never enroll or are absent from and/or drop out from school (FOS/ILO, 2001; UNICEF, 2006; NBS, 2007; UNDP Nigeria, 2010). A national survey on the welfare of children and women (NBS, 2007) found that 29% of 5–17-year-olds nationally were engaged in child labour, though the numbers were slightly lower for the North East (25%) and even lower for Adamawa State (18%). Many combine schooling with work (*ibid.*). Nationally, there was little difference between girls and boys, but marked differences according to location and socio-economic circumstances, with percentages much higher in poorer households where the mother is less educated, in rural areas and in the north. Although in general most children were involved in the family business, in the North East, including Adamawa State, the vast majority were engaged in unpaid labour outside the household. Many children working for wages save some of their incomes to pay for their schooling (FOS/ILO, 2001; Omokhodan, Omokhodan and Odutse, 2006). Labour practices are gendered in that boys are more likely to drop out because they have greater access to income-generating activities whereas girls may drop out because of doing more domestic chores and looking after siblings (Bakari, 2011).

Street children, predominantly boys, form a particularly vulnerable category of working children, the vast majority of which are out of school and increasing in number, especially in urban areas (Aransiola *et al.*, 2009; Ikechebelu *et al.*, 2008). Of particular relevance to our research is the large number of *almajiri*⁸. There are currently an estimated 9.5 million in Nigeria, according to the Executive Secretary of UBEC (Umejei, 2011), with 8.5 million in the north (Hoechner, 2011). They are often propelled into this existence through a combination of the poor quality of public schooling, especially in rural areas, low returns on education in terms of employment (FME, 2008, cited in Hoechner, 2011), the erosion of the rural economy and modern schooling's historical association with Christianity (Hoechner, 2011). Hoechner's small-scale study also found that although parents felt that access to materials other than the Qur'an distracts boys from learning the Qur'an properly, the boys themselves disagreed, wanting access to other Islamic texts available to the children in the Islamiyya schools, and approving of "modern" education more generally as they believed it would lead to economic success.

Child health, which is often related to poverty and/or conditions of child labour, often impacts heavily on schooling. As the 2010 NEDS succinctly summarised:

School-age children suffer from nutritional problems that may affect their physical and cognitive development, as well as their capacity to attend school, stay in school, and learn while attending school. Previous research has found correlations between nutrition and school enrolment/attendance, performance in school, age of entry, absenteeism, repetition, and dropout (NPC and RTI International, 2011, pp. 37–38).

The survey showed that many children aged 4–10 are malnourished, again considerably more in rural and northern regions. Ill health was by far the most commonly cited reason for missing school given by over a third of primary school respondents. In a study on girls' education in eight states in Nigeria, illness was also identified as a major obstacle to schooling among 44% of respondents (UNDP Nigeria, 2010; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). Another major health challenge is HIV and AIDS; an estimated 2.8 million children under 17 are living with HIV in Nigeria, many of whom are not attending school (Boston University Center for Global Health and Development, 2009); additionally, the latest figures from the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) suggest that in the North East around 10% of households reported knowing children in the community they believed were absent from school because a parent or guardian was ill with either HIV or AIDS. Malaria has also been highlighted as a major health hazard (Boston University Center for Global Health and Development, 2009) while crucially, ill-health due to poor sanitation and access to clean water has been identified as a major impediment to achieving UBE (UNDP Nigeria, 2010).

Socio-cultural attitudes are also major determinants of educational participation. Formal academic schooling's historical associations with Christianity act as a deterrent for many Muslim families, especially in rural areas (Iro, 2001; FME 2008, cited in Hoechner, 2011). Similarly, formal schooling's association with westernization, and therefore the erosion of traditional values, deters more traditional, rural communities (both Christian and Muslim) from sending their children to school (Avotri *et al.*, 2000; Academy for Educational Development, 2002). The Hausa-Fulani nomadic pastoralists, prevalent in northern Nigeria, are particularly concerned in this regard (Usman, 2006) though aspects of the school system itself (see below) also affect their educational participation.

⁸ While the term originally derives from a corruption of the Arabic "*almuhajirun*", which means "immigrant", referring to boys who would leave home in search of Qur'anic learning, it has been debased in current parlance in Nigeria to refer to Muslim boys begging in the street.

Formal community participation in schooling predominantly occurs through the Parent Teachers Association (PTA), which provides a lot of financial support and labour, particularly in constructing and maintaining school buildings, but also in teacher recruitment and provision of learning materials (Theobald *et al.*, 2007). Though now banned in many states, termly PTA levies are still widespread (Lincove, 2009; NPC and RTI International, 2011) and for many years have been the only source of income for some resource-constrained schools, yet a financial burden on many families (Poulsen, 2009). Criticisms of PTAs, however, have included political interference, concentration of power in the hands of a minority – usually the head teacher and the PTA chair, with LGEA influence (*ibid.*) – and lack of accountability, especially as regards finances (Williams, 2009).

Despite examples of positive efforts to support schools by community organisations (see Urwick, 2002; Sherry, 2008; Poulsen, 2009), tensions have also been highlighted between schools and communities. Teachers often have a deficit view of parents, claiming they do not value education, and do not listen to teachers' views on their childrens' capabilities (Sherry, 2008); conversely, some parents and community members see teachers as lacking the requisite qualifications, commitment and professionalism (*ibid.*). More generally, there is a reported lack of trust between civil organisations and government despite recognition of the need to work together to improve education (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003).

3.5.2. School issues

What goes on in school is equally important in terms of getting children into school and keeping them there. One of Nigeria's major problems is a shortage of qualified teachers (Sunat *et al.*, 2003; Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Theobald *et al.*, 2007; Ahmed *et al.*, 2008; FME, 2009a; Omo-Ojugo, 2009; USAID, 2009) although qualifications in themselves are no guarantee of possessing the requisite skills or knowledge to teach effectively (Theobald *et al.*, 2007; Johnson, 2009) as initial teacher education suffers from outdated curriculum content and teaching methodology (Akinbote, 2007; Bakari, 2007; Tahir and Girei, 2008; Omo-Ojugo, 2009; USAID, 2009), and overcrowded lecture theatres (Sherry, 2008). In addition, unqualified teachers are sometimes appointed in preference to qualified teachers because they are cheaper, or have better political connections (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Williams, 2009). As mentioned earlier, a shortage of female teachers in rural areas has also been highlighted as hindering the participation of girls in school, although the FTTS pilot scheme has had some success (Garuba, 2010).

Teacher absenteeism, which has been described as “endemic” in some public primary schools, especially in rural areas (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Ahmed *et al.*, 2008), is another major issue affecting access and educational quality. It is symptomatic of low teacher morale due to low salaries, irregular payments and poor working conditions (Sherry, 2008; FME, 2009b). Even when teachers are in the classroom, concern has been voiced about the quality of teaching and learning (Omo-Ojugo, 2009; Arong and Ogbadu, 2010), which has been cited as a major factor in non-enrolment or school dropout (Sunat *et al.*, 2003) and low performance in public examinations (Omo-Ojugo, 2009; British Council, 2012), or migration to the private sector (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003). Two fairly recent large-scale, primarily quantitative classroom-based studies (Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008; Davison, 2010) looked at pedagogy. Both studies showed a consistently high level of what has been characterized as “safe talk” (Chick, 1996): routinised classroom interaction that makes very little cognitive demands of pupils, “with little attention being paid to securing pupil understanding” (Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008, p.55). Such ritualised exchanges have been observed in many African classroom settings (see Dembelé and Miaro-II, 2003) and interpreted as coping strategies which allow teachers and pupils to save face and maintain the appearance that effective teaching and learning is taking place when teaching under difficult circumstances, struggling with the academic content of lessons and/or the

language of instruction (Chick, 1996; Ouane and Glanz, 2010). In addition, the language of instruction has also been identified as an important factor for minority linguistic groups; when their language is included in the curriculum, parents feel greater commitment to schooling (see McCaffery *et al.*, 2006; Usman, 2006); conversely when it is not included, their children are less likely to be enrolled or persist in school (Sunat *et al.*, 2003). Learning in a local language is also associated with greater oral participation by girls (Ouane and Glanz, 2010).

The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) noted other issues of school quality of concern to parents: in the North East around half of all parents interviewed voiced concern about the condition of buildings and classrooms and overcrowding; in both cases the percentage was above the national average. Findings from GEP suggest that adequate water and sanitation can improve school attendance (British Council, 2012); conversely, poor sanitation and provision of water can lead to non-enrolment and dropout, especially of girls (UNDP Nigeria, 2010; Bakari, 2011).

However, possibly the most contentious in-school factor affecting whether pupils enrol and/or stay in school is corporal punishment. Despite the fact that in the 2010 NEDS parents nationwide overwhelmingly backed caning pupils as a way of ensuring better quality education in schools (96% in favour in the North East), corporal punishment has proved to be a source of conflict between teachers and parents (Sherry, 2008) and can result in pupils missing school and/or dropping out (Flett *et al.* cited in Theobald *et al.*, 2007; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). Bullying and peer violence has also been found to cause some pupils to miss school (FME, 2007b). Girls in particular seem more affected (British Council, 2012). Gender violence (in the narrow sense of violence against girls and women, which is also likely to comprise some of the bullying and peer violence mentioned above), has also been reported in various studies (see also FME, 2007b; Action Aid, 2004, cited in Antonowicz, 2010; Para-Mallam, 2010; Bakari, 2011; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). However, other than Osakue's assertion that it inhibits girls' access to schooling (Osakue, 2006) little is known about its impact on educational participation in Nigeria. The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) also noted that over a third of parents in the North East are concerned about pupil safety, which may refer to issues such as teacher and pupil violence. This was also a concern voiced by pupils in Bakari's (2011) study of junior secondary schools in Kogi State. The NEDS report also notes that in the region around a fifth of pupils drop out of primary school because of "lack of interest"; this is a sizeable proportion and an issue which merits further investigation since the underlying reasons could relate to a range of factors (NPC and RTI International, 2011).

3.5.3 Educational administration

The educational administration at federal, state and local government level to varying degrees hold ultimate responsibility for the provision and quality of schooling, which inevitably are fundamental to whether children come to school, stay in school, and gain a meaningful education. The overlap, duplication and lack of coordination among the three tiers of government have been identified as major obstacles in this regard (Larbi *et al.*, 2004; Theobald *et al.*, 2007; USAID, 2009; Williams, 2009) though there is acknowledgement that some states are starting to address the issue (Orbach, 2004; Williams, 2009).

There is also huge variation in government funding across states and even greater variation across LGEAs (Santcross *et al.*, 2010). This affects the supply and location of schools, which are major determinants in whether pupils are enrolled in primary school; according to the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011), distance to school is the most commonly cited factor by parents in the North East (43%) for why children are not in school. The NEDS also pointed out that although just over half the population live under a kilometre from a primary school (well below

the national average of 68%), almost 20% are three kilometres or more from the nearest primary school.

Variation in government funding is sometimes compounded by an absence of transparency and accountability, for example about disbursement of funds and appointments (Williams, 2009). With regard to the latter, it can result in people being appointed to senior positions who lack the requisite experience and/or qualifications (see Sherry, 2008; Williams, 2009; Urwick and Aliyu, 2003). In addition, concern has been voiced about school monitoring and inspection services provided by LGEAs and states (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Orbach, 2004; Sherry, 2008), and the need for better training of supervisors and inspectors (Tahir and Girei, 2008). Many teachers and head teachers are aware that they need more training and supervision (Sherry, 2008), which would seem to be confirmed by the fact that the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) reports that over 10% of primary pupils in the North East drop out of school because of “poor school quality”, though this may also refer to the quality of school infrastructure and/or treatment of pupils.

A major development in the drive to improve transparency and accountability in schools with the ultimate aim of bolstering pupil enrolment has been the establishment of school-based management committees (SBMCs) (Theobald *et al.*, 2007). However, a study in the ESSPIN states (Williams, 2009) revealed that various government stakeholders had differing views as to the SBMC's main purpose, ranging from seeing it as a governmental tool to ease the financial burden of government, to a way to promote community ownership, or a way to inform or ‘sensitise’ communities. The confusion of roles, Poulsen (2009) maintains, has resulted in a lack of commitment to SBMCs, with most only existing on paper and/or being dominated by elite individuals (Poulsen, 2009; Antononis, 2010; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). In short, like PTAs they suffer from political interference and the concentration of power in the hands of a minority – usually the head teacher and the PTA chair, with LGEA influence (Poulsen, 2009) – and lack of participation by the ordinary community member. Crucially, no government financial support has been allocated for SBMCs, which, Poulsen concludes, is likely to exacerbate inequalities among communities “in that those communities in the poorest areas with the least resources will end up with the poorest schools” (2009, p.49).

In this chapter we have provided an overview of the national context and begun to relate it to the broader context within which Adamawa State is located and operates. We have raised multiple concerns about education in general and in the next chapter we will continue in this vein moving from the national context to focus on the state, selected LGEAs and the case study schools.

CHAPTER 4 STATE EDUCATIONAL PROFILE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we present the educational profile of Adamawa State with an emphasis on the primary sector. The data for this chapter have been developed using analysis of the available quantitative data from EMIS, the School Census and the 2008 NDHS (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009). At several points these data sets reported different, incomplete or inconsistent statistics, leaving us with uncertainties about the quality and reliability of the data collection, processing and storage. Nevertheless, we have selected data from the available datasets and presented these below. In addition, we used data from observations, and from formal and informal interviews with a wide range of respondents in ADSUBEB and in the case study schools and LGEAs. Where possible we have linked the discussions about Adamawa State to the national context (see Chapter 3) and to the six case studies (see Appendix I). The case studies are from six LGEAs in Adamawa, two in each of the three senatorial zones (northern, central and southern) and although not strictly representative of these zones, they do provide insights into the range of school contexts that make up Adamawa as a whole.

We begin this chapter with generic socio-geographic and geo-political descriptions of Adamawa State then consider the educational background, including educational governance and statistics, to provide a profile of key elements of this research i.e. access and enrolment in primary schools with specific reference to girls.

4.2 ADAMAWA STATE

Adamawa State is the southernmost of the six states that make up the North East zone of Nigeria.



Figure 4.1 Map of Adamawa State

Source: 2006 Population and Housing Census (NPC, 2010)

The other states in the region are Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe. Created in 1991 from part of the then Gongola State, Adamawa covers a land area of just under 40,000km², has a population of just over 3.1 million (NBS, 2009), and is located along Nigeria's eastern border with Cameroon. The rapidly expanding state capital Yola lies on the western bank of the Benue River as it enters Nigeria from Cameroon.

The climate is tropical with rainy and dry seasons. Though there are regional variations, on average the rainy season lasts from June to the end of October while the dry season commences around November continuing until the end of May or early June. The months of August and September usually record the highest volume of rainfall while the dry season is at its peak in March. The state is characterised by sub-Saharan zone vegetation in the north – short grasses interspersed with short trees – and Northern Guinea Savannah in the South, comprising denser vegetation with taller trees and grasses. This mix of vegetation, alongside the presence of two of Nigeria's major rivers, the Benue and the Gongola, make the state one of the country's centres of crop cultivation and animal husbandry. Around 50% of the population are involved in agriculture; farmers in the state cultivate a variety of crops including cotton, maize, rice, millet, groundnuts and other food staples, both for subsistence and in commercial quantities. Just under half the state's women are engaged in agriculture, with around 37% involved in petty trading; this compares with 56% of men involved in agriculture and 29% working as traders (UNFPA, 2010). Fishing is also important for communities living on the riverbanks, often on a nomadic basis, and is dominated mainly by the Jukuns, an ethnic group from neighbouring Taraba State. Other prominent fishing communities in Adamawa are the Bachamas, the Mbulas and the Batas.

The main roads in the state run north from Yola to Mubi and beyond to Borno State, west through Numan to Gombe State and south to Ganye. These main highways are predominantly tarred but elsewhere (especially in the interior) roads are sand tracks resulting in more difficult transport and communication.

Adamawa is sub-divided into 21 LGAs that are clustered into three senatorial zones: the Central Zone, comprising seven LGAs and a population of just over 3 million; the Southern Zone, with nine LGAs and a similar population; and the Northern Zone, with five LGAs and a much smaller population of around 680, 000. It is one of the most ethnically and linguistically diverse states in the country. The major ethnic groups are the Hausa-Fulanis, the Batas, the Bachamas, the Higgi, Margi, Kilba, Gude and Mbula. These are ethnic groups that are considered native and indigenous and are found in more than one LGA. However the Hausa-Fulanis are found in all the LGAs while the Hausas also have significant presence in majority of the LGAs but mainly as settlers.

Similar to other states in the North East Zone access to basic services in Adamawa State is poor and varies particularly depending on socio-economic status and rural or urban location. Only about 27% of the population have access to treated water (water bore hole, hand pump or protected well), and the situation is worse in rural areas (23.6%) than in urban areas (34.9%), where distances to water sources are also greater (NBS, 2009). The rural and urban divide is even more pronounced regarding access to electricity with only 13.3% homes benefiting in rural areas, as opposed to 65% in urban areas. Thus, in zonal terms, the more urbanised central zone, which includes the state capital, Yola, also has better access to electricity (39%) whereas less than a quarter of the population in the northern and southern zones have electricity (*ibid.*). Yola offers the best access to medical services (UNFPA, 2010).

4.3 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND IN ADAMAWA STATE

Adamawa is officially categorised as an educationally disadvantaged state (EDS), a category to which all the states within the northern part of the country and some in the South South Zone belong. These states are characterised by low participation in education at all levels. Various measures have been taken to encourage participation in these states, such as federally agreed quotas for places in higher education and state-sponsored bursaries. In educational statistical returns by region the North East along with the North West often occupy the bottom ranks in the whole of Nigeria. A summary of selected educational indicators drawn from the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) is presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Gender-disaggregated education statistics in the North East

	Female (%)	Male (%)
Literate (aged 15–59)	23	51.2
Literate (aged 5–16)	15.4	18.1
Literate parents (%)	26.5	38.7
Years in school (pop aged 15+)	2.2	3.9
Parents mean years in school	2.8	3.3
Never attended school (aged 5–24)	56.8	48.5

Source: 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011)

Table 4.1 shows low levels of school attendance and literacy among the population, which still appears to be strongly gendered and characterises the younger generation. The more limited history and experience with schooling across the state adds further difficulty for efforts towards increasing school access and suggests the need for advocacy. Consistent with this, ADSUBEB has made substantial investment in community mobilisation, which remains an important element of the educational development programme. The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) is informative in this regard as it indicates that in the North East the decision to send children to school is made predominantly by the male parent/ guardian (73.3%) compared to females (5.4%). It is therefore evident that fathers should be targeted in advocacy and community mobilisation activities. The data also show that households in the North East have the lowest expenditure per pupil on primary schooling in Nigeria and that 27% parents in the region say that they do not send their children to school because it is too expensive.

The low enrolment in primary school cannot be isolated from the general low adult literacy rate in the region and state (See Table 4.1). Despite contravening usual conventions in the presentation of statistics, Table 4.2 presents data from different sources to provide some sense of enrolment levels and to locate Adamawa within the North East region.

Table 4.2 Gender-disaggregated primary enrolment in the North East and Adamawa State (%)

Region	Indicator	Data Source	Female	Male
North East	Net Attendance Rate (NAR)	Household survey*	38.00	43.50
North East	Gross Attendance Rate (GAR)	Household survey*	53.30	64.70
Adamawa	Gross Enrolment Rate	EMIS**	45.38	54.62

* Extracted from 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011)

** Calculated from EMIS (2009–10)

The figures for the region show low levels of school attendance that are strongly gendered with lower proportions of females gaining access to school. The difference between NAR and GAR point to a significant proportion of overage children in schools, which may be expected given that only 29.7% of children in the region enter school aged six or younger (NPC and RTI

International, 2011). These figures suggest that over 70% of children in the North East are overage, compared to 37% for the country as a whole. Interestingly, at the national level, a slightly greater proportion of boys rather than girls appear to be overage. Questions about access are far more complex than age at first entry and we will return to these later in this chapter.

Low levels of school enrolment in Adamawa coincide with low adult literacy. The most recent national literacy survey (NBS and NMEC, 2010) concluded that the adult literacy rate in the state stood at 57.9% in English (males 65.1%; females 50.6%), and at 71.6% (males 79.3%; females 63.7%) in any language, with significant gender disparities. However, this was based on self-reporting. The 2010 NEDS results are more sobering, calculating the state adult literacy average at 23%, and even this assessment was based only on being able to read one sentence. Literacy classes, however, have not been popular. A survey of enrolment in post-literacy classes conducted by NMEC between 1997 and 2007 (NBS and NMEC, 2010) recorded not even one single individual enrolled in the programme in Adamawa State within the period. This contrasts to Akwa Ibom State which recorded over 12, 000 enrolments.

Mirroring the picture at regional level, gender disparities exist in access and participation in formal public schooling at the state level too, particularly among rural girls and especially those belonging to nomadic pastoralist communities, with girls reaching 45.3% of those enrolled. However, the current educational administration is clearly taking gender equality seriously as evidenced by the recent introduction of a policy of providing free school uniforms for all girls at public schools in Primary 1, a policy that is to be extended to all primary children. Moreover, the formerly taboo topic of gender violence is also being taken seriously; in March 2011, for example, ADSUBEB took the unprecedented step of dismissing two school teachers for raping school girls under their care.

Specific challenges to educational provision and up-take include poverty, nomadic lifestyles and fear among the Muslim communities based on religious and cultural concerns. Again ADSUBEB has made positive steps to directly address all three concerns through the provision of school uniform, the development of nomadic and integrated (religious and secular) schools and in community mobilisation campaigns. These developments will be discussed in Section 4.7.

4.4 EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

The importance of research for informing policy and practice is widely acknowledged and this study is a first step in taking a broader analytical perspective on the educational provision within Adamawa State. There have been only a couple of small-scale educational studies previously conducted in the state. Joda *et al.* (2008) studied small rural schools in Adamawa State looking at teaching and learning with particular reference to the challenges, practices and strategies that teachers employ to cope in a rural environment. Teachers from a cluster of schools within each of the three zones in the state were selected for the study. The findings reported that according to the teachers, hawking was the most prominent reason for pupil lateness and irregular attendance. In addition, they claimed that low access to continuing professional development opportunities was considered one of the major inhibitions to effective teacher performance in rural schools. The study also assessed the teacher capacity-building needs in the state. These all have implications for policy and practice initiatives.

There is an obvious need for more research in Adamawa given the educational development ambitions of ADSUBEB. Systematic and reliable quantitative and qualitative data gathering and analysis is central to building an understanding of the educational context and in shaping the development of future educational provision. In this study, difficulties experienced with access to up-to-date reliable statistical data would suggest that despite recent improvements in data

capture and processing, more input is needed to upgrade this arm of ADSUBEB and to help inform critical areas for policy and practice interventions. While this is a wide-scale preliminary study there are multiple ways that more targeted research might provide insights and impetus towards improvements in access, quality and outcomes across the state. There is a wide range of possibilities ranging from a focus on community-school engagement, to teacher action research, to explorations of pupil perspectives on their schooling. The point remains that policy and practice both need to be evidence-based.

4.5 EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE

ADSUBEB is the government agency with statutory responsibility for the control and management of basic education in the State. The Board is comprised of an Executive Chair, two permanent members, a Board Secretary and members representing the interests of different stakeholders, including the teachers' union and PTAs. The Board's Management Team is headed by the Executive Chair and it includes the two Permanent Members, the Board Secretary and Principal Officers (Directors in charge of School Services, Personnel Management, Finance and Administration and Social Mobilisation). The Director of Personnel Management serves as the Secretary to the Management Team. ADSUBEB operates through a committee system with each critical function area being managed by a committee. The committees are in most cases headed by a director. In addition, there are a number of officials that have specific responsibilities, which include nomadic education, gender, early childhood care and education (ECCE), disability and SBMCs. Alongside these there are numbers of administrative and ancillary staff who work on the ADSUBEB HQ compound in Yola. These support the multiple functions of the ADSUBEB offices, which include managing conference facilities, as well as a distribution centre for school text and uniform materials.

As described in Section 3.2, the channels of communication to and from schools operate through the LGEAs located within the 21 LGAs in the three state zones. Although there is a system of school supervision and inspection, local education committees (LECs) mandated in law to provide an educational management, communication and accountability structures have yet to be instituted within Adamawa State. Within each LGEA the Education Secretary (ES) occupies a key office and is appointed for a four-year term through a process of nomination by the Chair of Local Government Council (LGC) and selection by ADSUBEB. They have significant influence and responsibilities for the delivery of education and support for schools within their LGA area. They appoint head teachers, post teachers, manage a team of School Supervisors (SS) and facilitate school-community links.

Direct support for schools and teachers is provided by the SS team, each holding responsibility for a number of schools within a specific catchment or circuit. As one ADSUBEB officer described:

They're largely expected to be in schools and supervise the teaching and learning, largely that's their main responsibility. And give a report on every school, monthly report on all the schools that they monitor. And they're supposed to be there to see what's happening, help the teachers through but again you can still have a problem with some of them lacking the requisite experience.

The local management of schools is structured to facilitate three-way communication between the school or head teacher, the community and the LGEA. For example, the SS can be brought in to advise and witness a meeting between a head and the community or the community may take issues to the LGEA through the head. Communication between schools and communities is crucial to an effective decentralised system and to the local management of schools but data reported in the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) indicate that in the North East only 32% of parents made more than one or more visit to school. This suggests a rather distant relationship between schools and families, which, if strengthened, might reap positive effects.

Without data we do not know whether the situation in Adamawa is more encouraging or whether it is an aspect of school development that needs further strategic impetus.

SBMCs introduced in 2007 were designed to operate as a key accountability link between the school and community and to play an important role in the development and quality assurance of the school. Head teacher, teacher and pupil representatives, together with a number of elected local representatives, should comprise the SBMC, with a minimum participation of four females. Evidence from interviews with senior education officials and from an SBMC workshop in ADSUBEB headquarters indicated that eligibility criteria for SBMC appointments are unclear. Associated with this, some schools were reported to have appointed influential and/or wealthy people not necessarily domiciled in the school location rather than current community members because they were likely to have more lobbying potential at LGEA or state level. Little was reported about pupil or female representation and voice. As the link to state structures, the ES and SS in combination have responsibilities for the system of educational governance, the processes of decentralisation and the operation of SBMCs. In many senses the implementation of SBMCs and their operation as an integral element of the local management of school might be described as faltering in Adamawa. Several interviewees also reported that political influence and the lobbying power of particular SBMCs had worked along religious lines such that more predominantly Muslim schools appeared to have improved their conditions in ways that predominantly Christians schools have not. Clear and transparent criteria and processes for SBMC appointment and responsibilities as well as for central resource allocation might contribute positively to improving the local management of schools, the wider integration of the system and to increasing trust.

The PTA also represents a school–community link that operates at the school level contributing to development through fund raising or building classrooms. While the PTA has a different composition and less official power, the distinction from the SBMC appears to be more blurred in practice. The limited female representation and voice on both these bodies was noted by an ADSUBEB official as an area that had shown some improvement but was still in need of further concerted development.

Echoing points raised in Chapter 3 and in other research (e.g. Williams, 2009; Santcross *et al.*, 2010), several respondents across this study have pointed to difficulties with the system of school management. These included: the negative influence of poor communications; overlapping responsibilities and political interference militating against effective accountabilities; the need for quality improvements; and inequalities that produced a general and sustained lack of trust. For example, the appointment and distribution of teachers may be subject to multiple legitimate and illegitimate influences that leaves some schools with too few qualified teachers or some who have remained in the same school beyond the recommended 5–10 years. The uneven distribution of teachers results from a number of factors including budgetary concerns in the LGEAs that pay teachers, since better qualified and more experienced teachers cost more; teacher resistance to transfer for a variety of domestic and financial reasons – local money-making scams included; and personal threats and the political aspirations of educational personnel linked with the potential of teachers to influence local communities. As one ADSUBEB official noted:

Because the Chairman of the local governments are products of elections . . . most of them are of the view, most of them, that if they have the support of teachers then they may win because the teachers are the most educated. They are the electoral officers, the electoral supervisors. And they're also mobilisers in their own communities. So for that they always want to bring like their own particular associates. And that's one area again where the law needs to be looked into.

Some respondents also acknowledged the efforts to improve the capacity and operation of school administration at all levels. Within ADSUBEB, officials described a range of strategies in

various stages of development and implementation to address the problems, which included improved incentives (loans, transport), better career structures and conditions, greater management participation and capacity development opportunities. Many of these issues will be discussed further in later chapters of this report.

The evidence from this research suggests that development of a transparent, responsive and accountable system of school governance is a high priority in addressing quality and equality in educational service provision in Adamawa State.

4.6 SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS

Data from the Adamawa School Census (2009) in Table 4.3 show the number of schools in four sectors (pre-primary; primary, junior secondary and senior secondary). The primary sector is the largest with 1,890 public schools with primary classes, the majority (nearly 80%) of which comprise only primary classes. As reported in Chapter 3, private provision of schools in the North East and in Adamawa is small compared to the national level of 26%, which is on an upward growth curve. In Adamawa the private sector is most concentrated at pre-primary level (35% private), compared to around 10% or less in other school types. Importantly, a minimal 3% of primary-only schools are supplied by private providers.

Table 4.3 Number of public and private schools by level in Adamawa State

Schools with . . .	Public	Private	Total	% Public
Pre-primary classes	420	231	651	65.0
Pre-primary classes only	9	22	31	29.0
Primary classes	1,890	255	2,145	88.1
Primary only	1,479	46	1,525	97.0
Junior secondary classes	425	37	462	92.0
Junior secondary only	97	15	112	86.6
Senior secondary classes	189	17	206	91.7
Senior secondary only	92	1	93	99.0

Source: Adamawa School Census, 2009

Other schools within the State include a school for children with visual and hearing impairment with boarding facilities in the northern LGEA of Jada, integrated Islamiyya schools, and nomadic schools.

Since 2007 there have been sustained efforts by ADSUBEB to integrate traditional Qur'anic teaching with the public school curriculum in some schools. This is in line with national policy (FRN, 2004b) and a significant strategy in widening access to education given that the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) reports that 45% of Muslims only attend Qur'anic schools. This strategy has realised the development of 3,004 schools across the state, ranging from small Tsangayas with one *mallam* and 20–50 mixed-grade pupils to new, much larger boarding schools with two-storey classroom blocks. These integrated schools offer both religious teaching on the Qur'an, Islamic jurisprudence and theology alongside a secular curriculum including language, mathematics, science, social science, life skills and vocational education. For the traditional small schools the curriculum breadth presents significant teacher capacity challenges. Alongside this, considerable ADSUBEB efforts continue to be channelled into relieving fears within Muslim communities that schools are a mechanism for Christian evangelism or the imposition of the

“ways of the white man, the way of the western world” (senior education officer). In acknowledgement of some resistance by (some) Muslim communities, considerable work continues to take place in gaining the support of religious leaders and on advocacy. To date over 200,000 pupils attend the 3,004 integrated schools with an average of 68.2 pupils per school. There is a higher proportion of boys (58.5%) than girls (41.5%) in these schools (ADSUBEB, 2011). The building of more and new integrated schools is a key development initiative that when realised will see an estimated three boarding and three day schools in all LGEAs in the state (ADSUBEB member).

Nomadic schools have also been targeted for development by ADSUBEB, drawing substantial financial resources. For example, nomadic school development has commanded an unprecedented 5% of the educational budget. These schools have been developed to address the educational needs of two main nomadic groups in the state: the Hausa-Fulani pastoralists and a much smaller group of migrant fishing families (Jauro, 2010). The predominant focus on the Hausa-Fulani nomadic pastoralists relates to the size of their population and, to a lesser extent, to the fact that Hausa-Fulani constitute the dominant ethnic group both in term of population and control of state apparatus. As in other states, nomadic children suffer from low enrolment and completion rates and high dropout as well as poor transition to junior secondary school. In 2010 there were 110 nomadic schools in Adamawa, a figure that had risen to 117 by 2012 (ADSUBEB, 2012). With 564 nomadic teachers, 88.7% males and 11.3% females, there are an average of 4.8 teachers per school. Pupil numbers have reached 13,583, meaning that the average school has 116 pupils, a pupil–teacher ratio of 24 and a much better pupil gender balance of 54.2% males and 45.7% females than among teachers. Similarly, records show that of those who make the transition to JSS, 58.3% are males and 41.7% are females (ADSUBEB, 2012). The specific resource needs of nomadic schools are constantly on the agenda as the delivery of education to children in the nomadic population presents particular ongoing challenges.

The number of public primary school teachers in the state and within the LGEAs of the six case study schools is presented in Table 4.4. There are over 13,000 primary teachers in Adamawa public schools, of which 60% are qualified and 9% are graduates. It is important to note that higher proportions of female teachers are qualified. Calculations based on EMIS 2009–10 show 37.5% female teachers are qualified compared to only 30.8% males. This might suggest that unqualified male teachers may find employment opportunities more easily than similarly unqualified females. Overall, it is a predominantly male profession. In all categories the proportion of women is lower than that of men with women comprising only 35% of the state teaching force and one third (33%) of graduate teachers. It is only in the Southern 2 and Central 1 LGEAs that the proportion of females who are qualified or who are graduate teachers is higher than for males. The distribution of female teachers appears to be more complex than a rural-urban divide as the Central 2 LGEA shows the lowest proportions of females in all categories and reflects patterns similar to the more rural LGEAs. The higher number of female teachers in urban LGEAs concurs with findings from elsewhere in SSA although the data from Adamawa indicate that other variables are at play. Explanations for low numbers of female teachers in Central 2, for example, might be related to cultural views and practices in the predominantly Muslim surrounding population (See Appendix IE).

Table 4.4 Public primary school teachers by gender and qualified status in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs

	Teachers			Qualified teachers*			Graduate teachers**		
	Total	Female %	Male %	% of Total	Female %	Male %	% of Total	Female %	Male %
STATE TOTAL	13,309	35	65	60	38	62	9	33	67
Northern 1	1,177	42	58	67	42	58	7	25	75
Northern 2	692	34	66	62	40	60	10	36	64
Central 1	708	63	37	65	69	31	14	64	36
Central 2	126	11	89	48	8	92	6	0	100
Southern 1	850	12	88	48	14	86	7	5	95
Southern 2	511	55	45	66	59	41	15	70	30

*Qualified teachers are those with the following qualifications: NCE, PGDE, B.Ed or Equivalent and M.Ed or equivalent.

** Graduate teachers include all qualified teachers with a graduate degree or above (PGDE, B.Ed or equivalent and M.Ed or equivalent).

Source: EMIS 2009–10.

A complex range of factors, including the wider population characteristics, cultural and religious practices and labour market specificities within each LGEA, is likely to influence teacher numbers and the LGEA's demographic character. It is informative to compare public school statistics with those in the private sector, which, although small, shows a much higher proportion of female teachers. Empirical explorations of this pattern would be useful.

Reference to the case studies reminds us that within each LGEA the schools might present patterns that are quite different from their LGEA as a whole. Kilfi Primary School, for example, with over 45% of female teachers, contrasts with the LGEA average of only 11%. The case study school data in Table 4.5 allow us to compare schools in specific locations. It can be seen that urban schools tend to be larger and, with one exception, have a predominantly male teaching workforce. Five of the case study schools have less than 50% female teachers and in the rural schools the percentage drops significantly to as low as 15% female staff. The concentration of female teachers in urban schools has been reported elsewhere in the literature and it is a pattern of deployment that raises at least three sets of issues. The first are equity concerns in relation to labour market, training and deployment/promotion opportunities for females. The second concerns the more difficult conditions in rural areas combined with the traditional domestic roles of women such that there tends to be limited access to teaching careers for rural females and a reluctance by female teachers from elsewhere to take up a rural posting either for safety or for family/domestic reasons. Thirdly, the low proportion of female teachers has implications for the quality of the school environment, the experiences of female and male pupils and staff as well as, perhaps, for safety concerns expressed by parents.

Table 4.5 Teachers in the case study schools

School	LGEA	School location	Teachers (n)	% Female	% Qualified	% F qualified
Kanti	N1	Rural	18	27.0	50.0	22.0
Domingo	N2	Urban	39	35.9	76.9	40.0
Metropolis	C1	Urban	73	34.2	82.6	33.0
Kilfi	C2	Urban	57	45.6	65.0	43.0
Doya	S1	Rural	13	15.4	39.0	0.0
Baobab	S2	Urban	73	79.5	69.0	78.0

Source: Case studies, Appendix I

Teacher qualifications, often used as an indicator of school quality, also vary across the case study schools. In general, rural schools have fewer qualified teachers and in one case 61% of the teaching staff are unqualified, which compares to more than 80% qualified teachers in one urban school. A gender analysis reflects the same patterns of under-representation of qualified female teachers in the cases studies as across the state. There is one urban case study in which there are more qualified females than males although this is slightly lower than their proportion within the school. In contrast, in one rural school there are no qualified female teachers.

As a whole, the data suggest that there are problems with the supply and distribution of female teachers with significant inequalities in the proportion of female teachers in rural areas and among qualified staff. In other contexts with similar teacher distribution patterns, special provision has been introduced for posting female and qualified teachers to rural areas; these have included specific measures to ensure safety, provide accommodation, link rural posting to career development, or pay salary supplements.

In Chapter 6, Teacher Management, issues related to teacher appointments, distribution and discipline, which are matters for the LGEA and ES, are reported on in further detail.

4.7 PRIMARY ENROLMENT

4.7.1 Enrolment patterns and out-of-school children

Gross enrolments

In this section we report on primary enrolments in Adamawa. The data, however, from different sources and in some cases from the same source, are discrepant and so we present the statistics with caution. To add to this, we have referred to data from 2009–10 and earlier although since conducting this study, further data have been gathered and reported. These reservations re-iterate our concerns with the collection and processing of data that is vital for informing policy, advocacy and practice initiatives to improve all aspects of education service delivery.

Table 4.6 Public primary enrolments in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs (2009–10)

Region	Pupil enrolment numbers
State total	378,433
Northern 1	25,810
Northern 2	19,404
Central 1	19,487
Central 2	21,351
Southern 1	25,342
Southern 2	12,398

Source: EMIS 2009–10

Table 4.6 shows gross enrolment numbers in the state as a whole and in the six case study LGEAs. Based on EMIS 2009–10 data, it shows that by 2010 almost 380,000 children were enrolled in school. While these data are certainly important they are of limited value if unprocessed. Difficulties with available data have made calculations of net and gross enrolments impossible. To provide some sense of the proportions of children still out of school we have attempted an estimate, which is presented in Table 4.7. For various statistical reasons these calculations are likely to be under-estimates and need to be treated with caution as they have been based on data from different sources and time periods. They do indicate, however, that more than a quarter of children of school age in Adamawa are not in school.

Table 4.7 Estimated out-of-school children in Adamawa State

	Total*	%**
Primary	140,480	26.4
Secondary	281,705	68.0

* Calculated as the difference between the age-group relevant population reported in the Census 2006 and the enrolled school population in 2009.

**Calculated as a percentage of the total amount of relevant age group not enrolled over the total population reported in the Census 2006.

This estimate of 26.4% of primary age children out of school compares with the national out-of-school figures of 23.9% of 5–14 year olds (see Chapter 3). The converse of this is that over 73% of school-age children are in school in Adamawa. We used this estimation to explore patterns of gross enrolment by grade, which are presented in Figure 4.2. It is important to highlight that this graph refers to gross numbers, that is, all pupils irrespective of age and offers no analytical distinction around age that might be informative for understanding patterns of age at first enrolment and/or progression through grades.

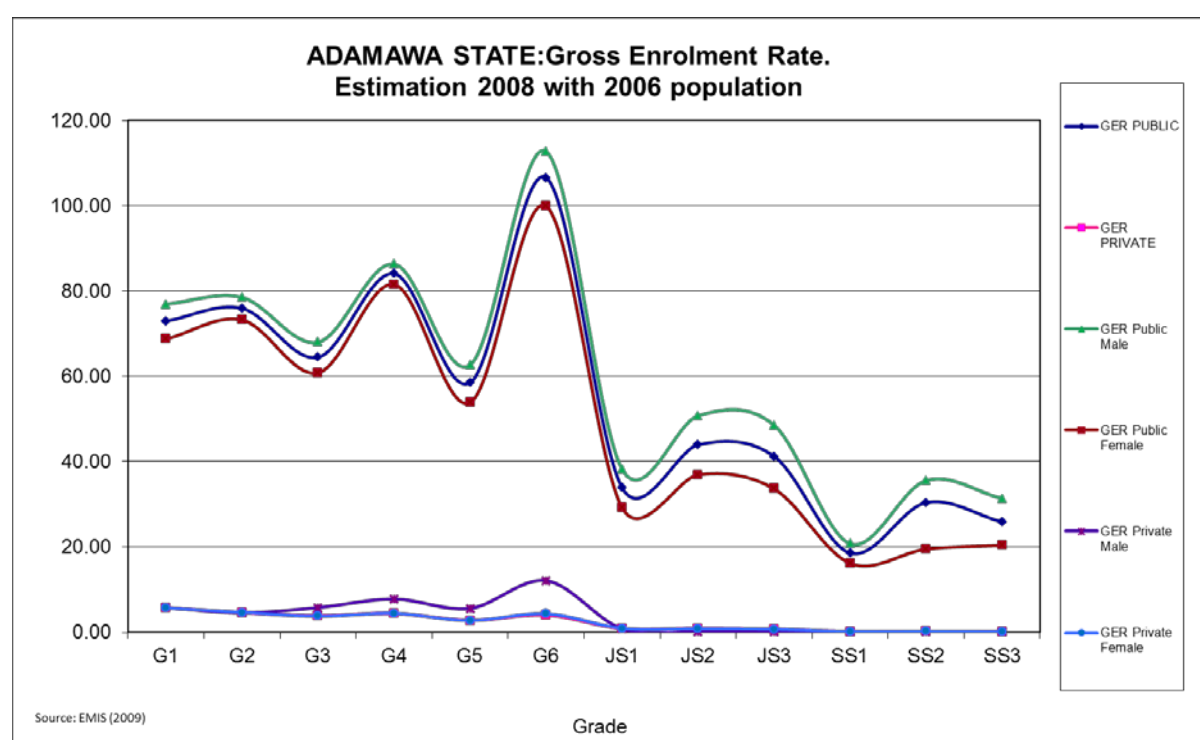


Figure 4.2 Gross enrolments by grade for public and private schools in Adamawa State

Source: EMIS 2009–10

This graph shows the small private sector in Adamawa and more pertinently here it shows an underlying decrease in gross enrolments over grades in the public sector. Notable fluctuations include a significant hike in Grade 6, the final year in the primary sector, followed by a massive drop off into Junior Secondary 1. This suggests particular enrolment or repetition practices in Grade 6 and problems with transition to JSS despite ADSUBEB's aim to make the move into junior secondary available to all pupils. Again this reflects patterns at the national level discussed in Chapter 3. Other statistics about the school population are available; for example, from the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011), which is based on household survey rather than school

data, Adamawa State has the highest NAR for girls in the North East and the second highest figures for boys, at 55.4% and 59.4%, respectively.

Data and analysis of gross and net enrolments rates are critical for understanding the extent of educational uptake and for informing how policy and practice may be more precisely directed towards the achievement of the EFA goals and the MDGs. This is a key area in which more systematic research and data are needed. Exploiting data to illuminate the particularities of the pupil population has important implications, for example, for teacher preparation, pupil management or community practices.

Overage

Relatively simple data manipulation can reveal the proportion of overage children in the primary sector. As reported earlier, with only 29.7% of children in the North East region entering school aged six or younger, there is a strong likelihood that many pupils in school are overage. In addition to the reasons for pupils being overage at first entry to school, discussed in Chapter 3, in Adamawa the practice of sending children and especially boys to study under a *mallam* until the age of 12 undoubtedly contributes to the numbers of overage children in public schools. Head teachers within three of the case study schools completed returns that enabled us to trace proportions of overage pupils. These are presented in Table 4.8 and show that overage pupils ranged from over 8% to over 19% across these schools and that the rural schools in Kanti and Doya showed higher proportions of overage pupils than urban Domingo. The school data are not very reliable and much higher estimates are given in national data, which claim that one third of school pupils are overage and these tend to include more boys (see Chapter 3).

Table 4.8 Overage* pupils by gender in selected case study schools (2007–2011)

	Kanti			Domingo			Doya		
Year	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
2007–8	15.2	16.4	15.9	–	–	–	19.9	18.5	19.1
2008–9	17.9	13.9	15.7	6.7	10.1	8.3	12.7	12.9	12.8
2009–10	12.1	15.9	14.0	9.6	9.6	9.8	13.7	14.1	13.9

*Pupils three or more years over the official age for each year

Patterns by gender or religion are difficult to ascertain but there is an expected trend that indicates increased overage pupils moving up through the grades and a significant hike in Grade 6. These overage pupils are a significant proportion of their respective school populations and they reflect a combination of starting school late, or of dropping out and coming back into school. In either case the causes of overage, which are likely to be a combination of home/community and school quality issues, need to be addressed since the literature suggests that overage children are more likely to drop out and fail to complete primary schooling (see Hunt, 2008). Overage pupils are also reported to have problems learning alongside younger pupils and to have a significant influence on the dynamics within the classroom (Dunne and Ananga, 2013). In view of the number of children still out of school and those still to gain access, the proportion of overage children is likely to remain relatively high for some years to come. In this case, it might be worthwhile considering how these pupils might be enabled to progress continually through school without further periods of absence that work to exacerbate overage. Creative systems of pupil management and/or pedagogical approaches are worth considering in order to address the needs of older pupils.

Gender

Gender is a key international educational priority. Data presented in Table 4.9 show that gender parity has not yet been achieved across the state (45.38% female) and that urban LGEAs tended to have a higher proportion of female enrolment than in rural areas.

Table 4.9 Public primary enrolments by gender in Adamawa and the case study LGEAs (2009–10)

	Pupils		
	Total (n)	Female (%)	Male (%)
State total	378,433	45.38	54.62
Northern 1	25,810	41.69	58.31
Northern 2	19,404	43.36	56.64
Central 1	19,487	48.49	51.51
Central 2	21,351	43.47	56.53
Southern 1	25,342	44.34	55.66
Southern 2	12,398	49.73	50.27

Source: EMIS 2009–10

The urban LGEAs, Central 1 and Southern 2, are on the cusp of parity whereas Central 2, with a predominantly Muslim population, lags behind some of the LGEAs in rural locations. Looking more widely across the state, data from the School Census (2010) indicate that across all the LGEAs in Adamawa only in two rural LGEAs is the proportion of females enrolled below 40%, and one urban LGEA has reached parity.

The picture on enrolment by gender in the case study schools is shown in Table 4.10. We need to bear in mind that these case studies are only six schools in a state with currently around 1,900 schools. The picture varies considerably across the case studies with three schools showing slight decreases in enrolments [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, KILFI] and two rural school showing slight positive fluctuations [KANTI, DOYA] and one urban school with a massive increase in pupil numbers [BAOBAB]. In terms of gender, all have a higher proportion of girls than the state average (45.3%) except for the two rural schools and only the two Southern Zone schools have averages below those of their respective LGEAs. Four schools have shown stability or slight decreases in the gender gap over recent years and the two Central Zone urban schools now show a balance in favour of girls [METROPOLIS, 60.1%; KILFI, 51.1% female].

Table 4.10 Enrolments in the case study schools by gender and religion (2010–11)

School	LGEA	Location	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	Total
Kanti	N1	Rural	305 (45.2%)	370 (54.8%)	0 (0%)	675 (100%)	675
Domingo	N2	Urban	535 (49.7%)	541 (50.3%)	572 (53.2%)	504 (46.8%)	1076
Metropolis	C1	Urban	1032 (60.1%)	684 (39.9%)	1533 (89.3%)	183 (18.4%)	1716
Kilfi	C2	Urban	518 (51.1%)	496 (48.9%)	827 (81.6%)	187 (18.4%)	1014
Doya	S1	Rural	223 (43.5%)	290 (56.5%)	280 (54.6%)	233 (45.4%)	513
Baobab	S2	Urban	1,441 (47.1%)	1,617 (52.9%)	1,938 (63.4%)	1,120 (36.6%)	3,058

Source: School data from case study pupil statistics form

These trends in school enrolments, however, are more complex as other demographic variables and changes over time interact. These effects are important and might be explored, for example, to reveal the effectiveness of the ADSUBEB-sponsored community mobilisation campaigns. Comment here, however, is limited as all the selected case study schools were majority Muslim schools, with the exception of Kanti in LGEA N1, which was exclusively Christian. School-level data do indicate increases in the proportion of Muslims in all five schools. This is a rather simplistic observation, which could reveal much more with the availability of more fine-grained, LGEA-wide data to trace patterns of enrolment by population group.

Patterns over time and school quality

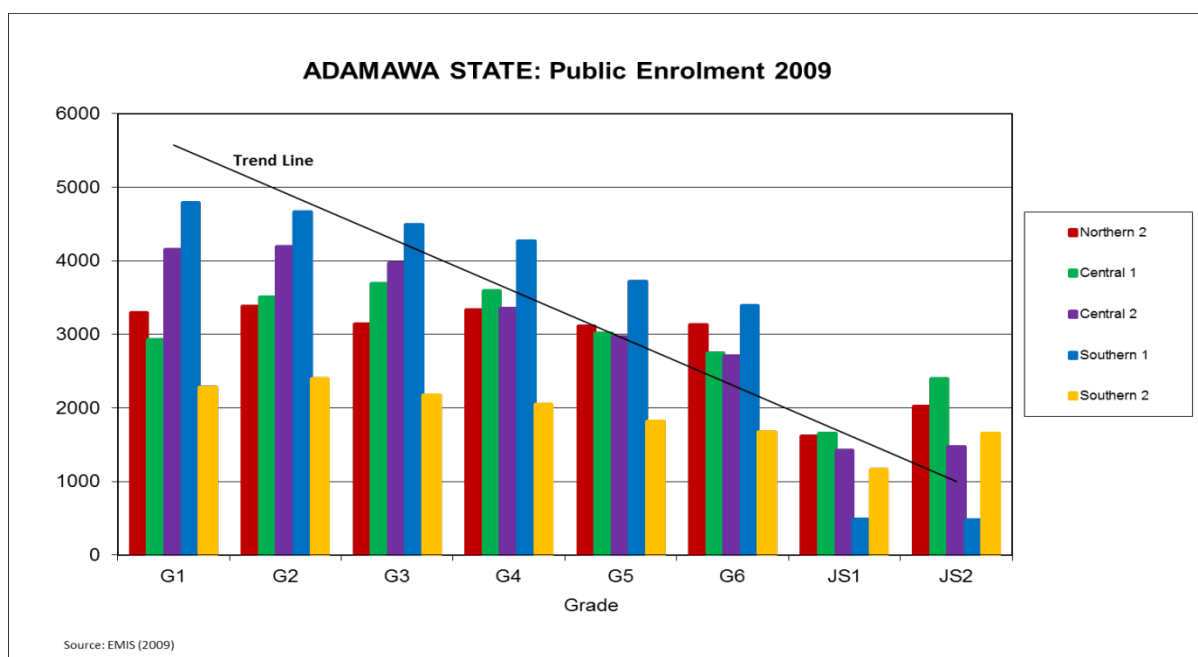
Longer-term enrolment data are important for tracing the extent to which children have sustained access to schools. Enrolment data by grade for 2009–10 are shown in Table 4.11 and presented visually in Figure 4.3. A grade-by-grade pattern emerges that shows a gradual decrease in enrolments up through the grades. There are some fluctuations in certain LGEAs but the dominant trend remains.

Understanding why these patterns arise is a key question for ADSUBEB and the explanations are especially important for informing policy and practice. The trend, observable at the national level, suggests that parents have supported initial access to school but that conditions in the home and or in school have produced cumulative levels of drop out. To a large extent educational administration is responsible for setting out and ensuring school quality standards. In Nigeria, as in other countries in SSA, low school quality has been found to be a large part of the reason for dropout (see for example, Dunne, *et al.*, 2005; FME, 2007b; UNESCO, 2011) and, especially in the North East of Nigeria, a reason for parents not sending their children to school or for taking them out (NPC and RTI International, 2011). Although notable advances have been reported in the state, again, data and evidence are thin.

Table 4.11 Public primary enrolments by grade in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs (2009–10)

Grade	State Total	Northern 1	Northern 2	Central 1	Central 2	Southern 1	Southern 2
G1	71,581	3,674	3,294	2,932	4,157	4,795	2,284
G2	68,284	3,828	3,386	3,508	4,190	4,666	2,401
G3	63,779	3,744	3,140	3,695	3,969	4,491	2,174
G4	66,257	7,659	3,337	3,594	3,351	4,275	2,049
G5	56,803	3,533	3,115	3,014	2,971	3,726	1,819
G6	51,729	3,372	3,132	2,744	2,713	3,389	1,671
Total	378,433	25,810	19,404	19,487	21,351	25,342	12,398

Source: EMIS 2009–10



*Note: Northern 1 is not included as it has an extreme value in the enrolment reported in Grade 4. It was considered that such a large value must be a mistake that would bias the cross-case analysis.

Figure 4.3 Public primary and JSS enrolments by grade in the case study LGEAs

Source: EMIS 2009–10

One available indicator of school quality, the pupil–teacher ratio, was calculated and shows that Adamawa State as a whole and the case study LGEAs all have ratios that better the national target of 35 pupils per teacher (FRN, 2004b). This is shown in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12 Pupil–teacher ratio in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs

	Pupils (n)	Teachers (n)	Pupil–teacher ratio
Northern 1	25,810	1,177	21.9
Northern 2	19,404	692	28.0
Central 1	19,487	708	27.5
Central 2	21,351	—*	—*
Southern 1	25,342	850	29.8
Southern 2	12,398	511	24.3
State total	378,433	13,309	28.4

*These data appear to be discrepant and therefore have not been included

The analysis provided in Chapter 6 on Teacher Management, however, suggests that either the case study schools are outliers in their respective LGEAs and/or that the above data are seriously flawed. The difficulty with gauging school quality presents particular problems for developing strategies to ensure sustained school access. Together this points to the need for more research, data, monitoring and evaluation in Adamawa. Having said this, important efforts to improve school quality through school building and refurbishment are currently part of a school access and quality strategy, which is reported on in Chapter 5, Infrastructure.

4.8.2 Retention, repetition and completion

Attrition

As discussed earlier there are substantial proportions of overage children in primary school who may have simply started late or dropped out for a period and then returned to school.

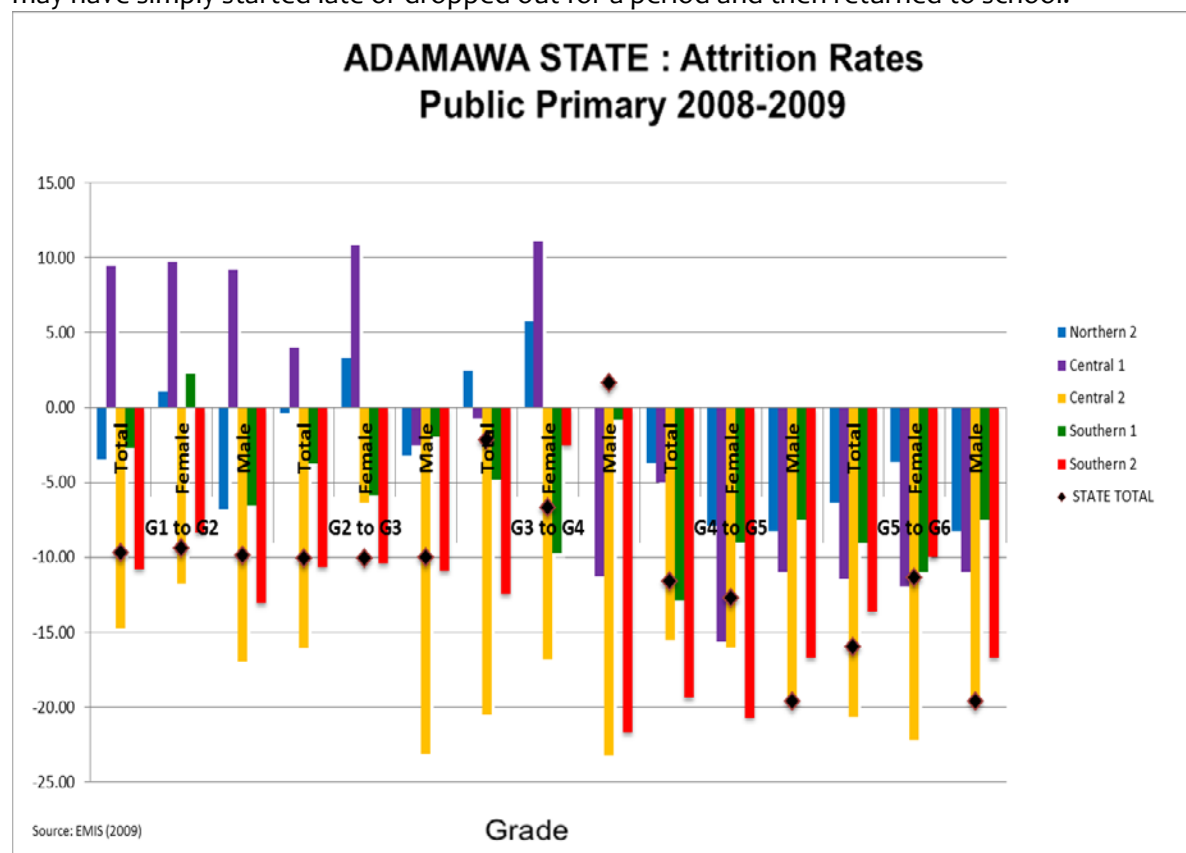


Figure 4.4 Attrition rates in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs

Source: EMIS 2009–10

These children are at a high risk of dropping out and of non-completion of primary school. The State's efforts to ensure sustained school access therefore needs to take retention seriously. Figure 4.4 plots retention across the case study LGEAs and illustrates that there is a gradual increase in attrition per grade up through the primary grades. While there are examples such as LGEA C1 where grade size increases, especially in the early grades, the dominant pattern shows levels of attrition that reach just below 20% in Grades 4–5 and 5–6. LGEA C2 shows a consistent pattern of these levels of attrition. Importantly, there tend to be higher levels of attrition among male pupils, especially marked in the later grades.

There are salutary messages here about the balance between efforts in community mobilisation to get children into school and the efforts to keep them in. More research is needed on the main causes of attrition and might ascertain whether this is caused by factors external to the school that pull pupils out, or factors within the school that push pupils out, or a combination of both. According to the literature, school quality is a key factor, suggesting that initial access to school needs to be followed by high quality teaching and learning and a favourable learning environment, otherwise high levels of attrition are inevitable. This phenomenon produces considerable inefficiencies in the school system. For example, although there is a system of automatic promotion within the state, repetition might partially explain both the levels of

attrition (in other words, the number of pupils who do not progress to the next grade), and/or the proportions of overage pupils.

Repetition and attendance

Fig 4.5 illustrates levels of repetition for the state and for each of the case study LGEAs. We can see that in Grades 1–5 the repetition rate is around 8% despite the automatic promotion. In general the case study LGEAs show repetition below the state average except for C1 and S2, which both include sizeable urban centres. Although it is not uniformly the case, in the majority of grades and LGEAs there tend to be more boys than girls repeating. This gender effect has also been observed in the national data (see Chapter 3).

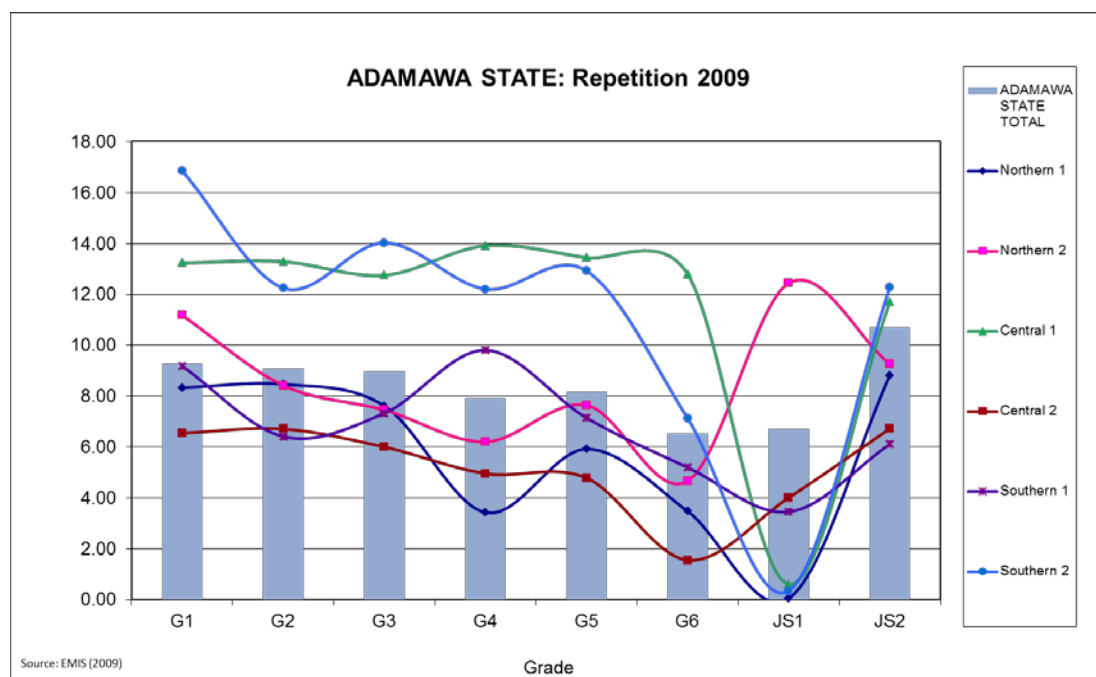


Figure 4.5 Percentage of repeaters by grade in public schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs

Source: EMIS 2009–10.

Poor attendance puts pupils at risk of dropout and poor learning outcomes, which in turn can produce attrition and repetition. The reported pupil average of 5.5 days absent from school in the month prior to the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) alerts us to the importance of attendance and its centrality to the effort to ensure school access for all Adamawa children (see Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2 for case study data). At the national level, for example, illness was given as the main factor for school absenteeism and reference to the data on the North East shows it has the highest statistics for stunting (28%) wasting (9%) and underweight (23%) children. These statistics mirror those in the national sample in the lowest wealth quintile and those with no schooling. The links between health and education are critical and explanations of low attendance based on state-level data would be informative. Similarly, collaborative ventures between health and educational administration might reap positive benefits for children.

There are very little reliable data on attendance, however, and reference to the case study schools (see Appendix I) shows that these problems also apply to dropout and performance data. In all cases the figures provided by head teachers appear to be at odds with observations and the qualitative data gathered during the research visits to schools. For example, research visits to the schools suggested that absenteeism by pupils and teachers was higher than the

school data provided would suggest. Stakeholder interviews also reported that some pupils are absent for whole terms and that seasonal absenteeism e.g. for harvesting, was common. The lack of systematic data on attendance also points to potential slippage between what is considered as poor attendance and as dropout. Schools reported widely different levels of dropout from around 5% to more than 15% and patterns by population group, where discernible, varied across the cases. The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) reported in Chapter 3, however, quotes a dropout figure of 17.9% in the North East, which is the highest national rate. In addition, it indicates that girls and rural children are more likely to drop out. The same problems occur with the case study performance data, where inconsistencies suggest that they are largely unreliable.

Transition to junior secondary school

Transition to JSS is often used as a proxy indicator for primary school quality. As the national definition of basic education has expanded to include the pre-primary, primary and JJS years, this statistic becomes increasingly important. These data are presented in Figure 4.6.

Transition rates at state level remain below 60%. The (under-) estimation that nearly 68% of secondary school age children are out of school in Table 4.7 suggests that a large proportion of those making the transition are overage. Nevertheless, Figure 4.6 does indicate a wide range in transition rates from less than 20% (LGEA S1) to more than 100% (LGEA S2). In all cases more boys make the transition than girls, with as much as a 40% difference in LGEA C1.

The issue with unreliable data has been repeated several times in this report; it seems clear that if head teachers do not ensure that data at school level are collected, checked and stored properly then they can serve very little purpose in understanding the realities of school contexts, in any kind of monitoring or evaluation; nor can they feed into practice and policy implementation in the school. High quality data at school level are fundamental to these vital processes. The problems with data are obviously magnified at the state level, where they are dependent on school returns that have been completed by head teachers, who may be untrained or unaware of the data's value. Data are then cleaned and analysed in an uncertain process such that their potential to inform is minimally exploited. Planning and development initiatives may be seriously misguided if left uninformed by indicators of school access and quality, which include attendance, dropout and performance data. There is very little point in sustaining community mobilisation to encourage access, for example, if low quality schooling is driving absenteeism and dropout.

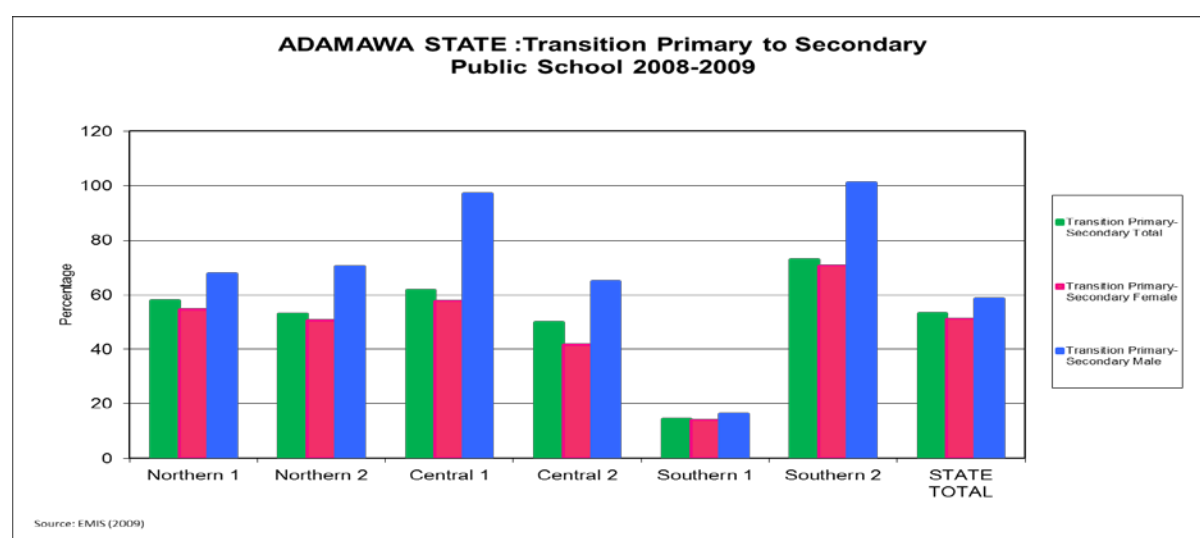


Figure 4.6 Public school transition to JSS by gender in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs

Source: EMIS 2009–10

4.8 RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The appointment of Dr Salihu Bakari as the Executive Chair of ADSUBEB in 2008 marked a significant turning point in educational administration in Adamawa, as he was the first professionally trained and experienced educator to serve in the post. On assumption of office, Dr Bakari disclosed that the Board had inherited a chaotic situation, as “we did not know how many primary schools we had, how many pupils we had in schools” (Olanrewaju, 2011, p.42). One of the significant steps taken by the new administration was to conduct a school survey, which revealed that schools in the state were in poor condition. Specifically, 3,445 classes were under shade, 2,779 classrooms were in need of repair and 4,339 additional classrooms were needed (ADSUBEB, 2010).

The Board also established an EMIS unit to ensure more reliable data on which to base educational planning. This development is still in the early stages of development: access to processed data remains difficult, and its use to inform policy or implementation decisions is still limited. Much of the data presented in this report have been drawn from EMIS, which clearly still has some teething problems in that the data suffer from certain inconsistencies, to indicate that further efforts are needed to improve the quality of the data collection and processing.

Other major steps taken to widen access and provide better quality basic education in the state include:

- Sensitisation and mobilisation of the target groups (pupils, parents, community, religious and opinion leaders) and other stakeholders to enable them to appreciate the essence of UBE and their respective roles in ensuring full access and participation in the programme .
- Provision of free school uniforms for primary school pupils beginning with those in Primary I.
- Refinement of the machinery for monitoring and evaluating the UBE scheme through appointment and training of school supervisors to facilitate regular supervision of schools.
- Development of a library and computer complex in at least sixteen out of twenty LGEAs in the state.
- Construction of classroom blocks and office buildings in schools. Of note here is the introduction of multi-storey buildings in highly populated urban schools to address the problem of lack of space for expansion.
- Introduction of boarding junior secondary schools in the state (ADSUBEB, n.d.).
- Improvements in the provision of education for children from nomadic families. Adamawa State has also been selected as the North East Zone’s pilot state to trial Interactive Radio Instruction (IRI) methodology in ten nomadic schools across ten LGAs (Jauro, 2010). At the Federal College of Education in Yola a pre-service teacher training programme to produce teachers from nomadic communities to teach in their respective communities is reportedly paying dividends in terms of teacher retention, and is said to have increased nomadic parents’ confidence in the education programme (*ibid.*). A further African Development Fund-assisted initiative has involved offering bursaries to teacher trainees from nomadic communities on condition that they teach in nomadic schools for three years. Nevertheless, overall there is still a lack of suitably qualified teachers and poor teacher retention in nomadic schools (*ibid.*).

In recognition of the various efforts that the Board had taken to revamp basic education in the state, UBEC ranked ADSUBEB as the second, first and second state basic education board in the country in 2008, 2009 and 2010, respectively. However, there is awareness that while many

positive developments have been taking place over the last few years, many challenges still remain to address unequal access to and meaningful participation in basic education, and to improve the overall quality of basic education that is offered. It is within this context that the present research collaboration between ABSUBEB and the Centre for International Education at the University of Sussex, UK, constitutes a first step towards providing research evidence to aid future educational planning within Adamawa State. This active problem-solving approach to educational development in the state has been sustained with the appointment of Dr Halilu Hama as the new Executive Chair of the Board in 2012.

4.9 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY AND OUTCOMES)

This chapter has provided an overview of education in Adamawa State and although the later chapters will expand on various dimensions of educational services, there are some important summary points to highlight here with respect to improved access and quality.

At a basic level, information systems are in need of upgrading to improve the data gathering process, the accuracy of the data provided, and a year-on-year systematic analysis. There will be multiple benefits from investment in better quantitative data in terms of understanding key variables within the context, including those that drive improved and sustained access to schooling. Accurate quantitative data provide the basis on which to develop new policies as well as to monitor and evaluate their impacts. It is important, however, to ensure that more qualitative data are included, which are essential to understanding the drivers and barriers of access and the perspectives of the multiple stakeholders that are vital to the success of any strategy aimed at widening access and improving quality.

Teacher appointment and deployment processes need to be made clearer and more transparent. There are specific gender dynamics that need to be the focus of policy and practice attention. The patterns and processes of teacher appointment, professional development and promotion need to be monitored and used to inform strategies that ensure fairer distribution and greater equity across and within the profession and administration.

The system of educational governance across the state needs to be improved and revitalised. Although there are policy documents available, the evidence from this research suggests that development of a transparent, responsive and accountable system of school governance is a high priority. School governance arrangements are vital for addressing quality and equality in educational service provision in Adamawa State. Where political interference influences educational administration it disrupts accountability relations that in turn can skew the due acquisition of both professional position and resources. While this will be impossible to expunge completely, levels of professionalism in the administrative and educational hierarchy would enhance trust in a more objective set of processes, rewards and disciplinary procedures. This would help to move these important state functions out of the realm of personal influence towards one of professional practice.

Educational decentralisation needs to be further developed and supported. The responsibilities of the stakeholder bodies, communications with other stakeholders, and accountabilities need to be made clear. This might address some ambiguities around the operation of SBMCs and PTAs and issues of representation and voice within them.

School and teacher support systems need to be strengthened, especially with respect to school-community relations, teacher professional development and teaching quality. There is an important relationship between access and school quality, and the latter needs to be addressed head on. Teachers need to be encouraged in the continual development of their work especially

as policy demands more pupil-centred teaching and learning (see FRN, 2004b). Systems of teacher reward might usefully be linked to quality improvements. The development of active professional teacher groups is one strategy to build local level capacity and quality.

Questions of equity need to be highlighted in terms of gender and other disadvantaged groups. Although there have been important gains, for example, in girls' access to schools, gender stereotypes still limit the opportunities of girls and boys. The gender balance across the multiple stakeholders groups including pupils, parents, PTAs, SBMCs, LGEAs and ADSUBEB all need to be the focus of concerted and sustained action.

CHAPTER 5 INFRASTRUCTURE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

National survey results show that 96% of parents view school buildings as an important quality of a good school. School proximity was cited by 53% of parents nationally as a key consideration in school selection and by 43% of parents in the North East and distance to school was one of the main reasons for non-enrolment (NPC and RTI International, 2011). Additionally, children who live far away from school are more likely to enrol late and overage children are also more likely to drop out (Hunt, 2008). The crucial influence of infrastructure on school access has been emphasised by survey results showing that in the North East a reported 60% of parents/guardians thought there was a problem with school buildings (NPC and RTI International, 2011). In acknowledgement of this, over recent years ADSUBEB, supported by the UBE Intervention Fund, has exerted a concerted effort both to construct new schools and upgrade existing school buildings. This has provided a strong signal of the importance of educational access in Adamawa.

In this chapter we draw on case study evidence, refer to data from national reports, and extract statistical data predominantly drawn from the Adamawa School Census (2009–10). The census consists of a compiled data set based on school returns; for 2009–10 84.2% of public primary schools made returns. ADSUBEB has also been furnished with a state-wide audit of schools, which outlines the condition of classroom buildings and amenities undertaken by a private construction company (ADSUBEB, 2010).

5.2 SCHOOL AND CLASSROOMS

The pace of infrastructural development may be seen in Table 5.1, which compares school census data of 2008–9 and 2009–10 for selected case study LGEAs in Adamawa. Increases in the number of schools range from more than 10% in LGEA C1 to nearly 20% in LGEA N2. This has important implications for encouraging greater and sustained school enrolments in LGEAs like S2 in which Baobab Primary School reports pupils coming to class from a distance of up to 8km away.

Table 5.1 Increase in the number of public primary schools in selected case study LGEAs in Adamawa State

LGEAS	Number of schools (2008–2009)*	Number of schools (2009–2010)**	Increase in number of schools (%)
N1	106	125	18.0
N2	67	80	19.4
C2	123	137	11.4
S2	65	76	17.0

Source: *Adamawa School Census, 2008–9, **Adamawa School Census 2009–10

Evidence from the case studies testifies to the positive impact of the concerted attention being paid to school infrastructure within the state. The new buildings and usable classrooms in three of the sample schools [METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB] provided an agreeable learning environment and made these schools clearly identifiable within their local setting. As reported elsewhere across Nigeria, however, poor finishing of buildings in places detracted somewhat from the quality of these new schools, indicating a need to review contracts and the commissioning processes (Ikoya and Onoyase, 2008; see also BAOBAB, case study Appendix IG)

While many stakeholders from the community, schools and LGEAs also applauded ADSUBEB's support in the refurbishment of classrooms and response to disaster e.g. a classroom roof collapsing [KANTI], most pointed to the need for more government assistance. This was particularly the case with the three schools in the more rural locations, where there were dilapidated and unusable classrooms as well as classes under shade. This rural-urban difference is also reflected at the national level (NPC and RTI International, 2011). Table 5.2 presents data on the condition of classrooms across the state and in the selected case study LGEAs, and shows that less than one third of the classrooms in Adamawa are described as being in 'good' condition. The majority of classrooms are in poor condition, needing either minor or major repairs, are under construction or are unusable. One consequence of this is shown in the final column of Table 5.2, which indicates an extremely high average pupil to classroom ratio of 279 at the state level and in excess of that in three of the case study LGEAs, reaching 381 in LGEA S1. The data support the stakeholders' view on the ongoing need for further building and rehabilitation work across the primary school sector in Adamawa State.

Table 5.2 Classroom numbers and conditions in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs

LGEA	No. of rooms	Good condition		Needing minor repairs		Needing major repairs		Total in poor condition		Pupil-c'room ratio
	Total	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	
N1	72	20	27.8	21	29%	23	32%	52	72%	358.47
N2	87	23	26.4	24	28%	28	32%	64	74%	142.51
C1	53	15	28.3	7	13%	21	40%	38	72%	367.68
C2	78	33	42.3	24	31%	13	17%	45	58%	273.73
S1	61	32	52.5	21	34%	3	5%	29	48%	381.41
S2	177	51	28.8	56	32%	48	27%	125	71%	109.63
State	1700	552	32.5	448	26%	503	30%	1145	67%	279.00

Source: Adamawa School Census 2009–10

Community mobilisation in Adamawa has increased enrolments to schools across the state. In the case study LGEAs a range of stakeholders, including the PTA, village heads, ES and head teachers in the case study schools [DOYA, BAOBAB], have been involved in community mobilisation that has stimulated increased access to school. These successes have heightened pressure for more schools and classrooms, producing the overcrowding indicated by the high pupil-to-classroom ratios presented in Table 5.2 [KANTI, DOYA]. This is consistent with the 2010 NEDS results that show that almost half of parents/guardians in the North East thought there was a serious problem with classroom overcrowding (NPC and RTI International, 2011). As a consequence, lessons often take place in sub-standard classrooms or under shade, where teaching and learning is more difficult. There are evident strains between the need to provide schooling for all Adamawa children and the successful mobilisation campaigns when the school environment they are invited into is less than conducive to quality teaching and learning. Another important factor, (discussed in Chapter 6 on Teacher Management) concerns the compounding influence of the number of teachers in school, such that, where there is a shortage of teachers and inadequate classrooms, large multi-grade classes tend to take place [KANTI]. In the longer term, the inadequate supply of school buildings (and teachers in school) is likely to work against the advocacy message for sustained school access.

The parents, community leader and teachers of pupils in Kanti, a rural school in the Northern Zone, illustrate the upset and dissatisfaction with the over-crowding and the continued need for

three classes to have lessons under shade. In addition, even where there were buildings, lessons took place in classrooms that were often dirty, with earth floors, termite mounds, leaking roofs, poor light, illegible chalkboards and no furniture. In Doya too, many buildings were very old and not in good condition, some with un-cemented potholed floors and no windows. Here, lessons also took place under the trees, where pupils used the earth to write on due to the lack of a legible chalkboard and pupil resources. While there was consensus about government responsibilities in terms of infrastructure, in all the case study schools, the PTA made an important contribution to the physical fabric of their schools. For example, in Kanti the PTA had sponsored two classroom buildings and in Doya they had constructed a nursery but did not have enough funds to equip it.

While the work of the PTA bridged a gap in the availability of classrooms and was often admired, it also had some potentially negative associations. First, at the national level research indicates that for some, the need for PTA involvement signalled a lack of political commitment to UBE (Ikoya and Onoyase, 2008), with systems in which the lines of authority, responsibility and accountability were unclear, not transparent, subject to political interference and characterised by mistrust (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Williams, 2009; also see BAOBAB). In the face of the high financial burden associated with building projects, an incremental approach had been adopted in which schools and locations identified for infrastructural development were recommended to ADSUBEB through the LGEAs. In the rural case study schools, where the building stock was in need of most urgent attention, there was some concern about the equity in the processes by which schools were identified for remedial building works [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA].

Second, within the case study schools parental failure to pay the PTA levy often led to pupil exclusion from school or disciplinary actions (see Chapter 7 on Pupil Management) with detrimental consequences for school access. Third, during the building work, the PTAs often enlisted unpaid pupil labour to carry sand and water for building purposes [e.g. KANTI]. This use of child labour (see www.ilo.org/ipecc/facts/lang--en/index.htm) limits the association of attending school with meaningful learning, which may encourage dropout, especially in the North East, where 69.8% of school children already combine schooling with working (FOS/ILO, 2001). In addition, families might consider this child labour could be better deployed to increase family income or to improve domestic conditions [KANTI, DOYA, BAOBAB].

However, some of the case study schools did not appear overcrowded. Baobab, for example, had a head teacher's office, staffroom and adequate classrooms with smooth floors, doors, windows, electricity, lights and fans. There was also a library and a computer suite although pupils were not observed using either facility. This evoked an overwhelmingly positive response from many stakeholders including members of the SBMC and PTA; the pupils described the classrooms as the thing they most like about school, and the LGEA staff linked the quality of the school buildings with increased school access.

5.3 AMENITIES

5.3.1 Water

In addition to the buildings, water, toilets and electricity are important amenities in schools. Water is vital and a basic human requirement, which is in constant demand in the hot and often dusty prevailing conditions. Table 5.3 shows, however, that an average of 57% schools were without a water source across the state. In four out of the six case study LGEAs the situation was worse, with LGEA N2 registering nearly 80% of schools with no water source.

Across the case study schools even those with relatively new good quality buildings did not necessarily have access to water. In one urban school [KILFI], however, a water source was available in a walled compound and this was used in controlled but positive ways with the surrounding community. The lack of available water was problematic, especially in the more rural case study schools though some schools had made attempts to have water available [e.g. DOYA]. Teachers and pupils in Kanti, where there was a dispute about school use of the nearest bore-hole, saw the lack of water as detrimental to performance in school. LGEA staff also recognised it as a major access issue. In schools without a water source, pupils and teachers alike were forced to leave the school compound to get (often untreated) water. It was reported that these pupils often did not return to school, thereby increasing absenteeism, which is a precursor to dropout [KANTI, DOYA, BAOBAB].

Table 5.3 Availability of water in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs

LGEA	Number of schools	Schools with no water source	
		(n)	(%)
N1	125	27	34
N2	76	56	79
C1	24	13	72
C2	137	60	56
S1	124	63	61
S2	80	32	60
State	1,890	877	57

Source: Adamawa School Census 2009–10

The water situation in schools has evident influence on access; nevertheless, it is worth acknowledging that across the state only about 27% of the population have access to treated water (water bore hole, hand pump or protected well), and in rural areas the proportion is less (23.6%) and distances to water sources are further (NBS, 2009). In the case studies, the demand for water in schools and communities often required negotiations between community leaders and school heads. Evidence from the case studies illustrates how, on the one hand, it had caused a rift between them [KANTI] and, on the other hand, it had been used as an opportunity to engage positively with community members, who were permitted to use the water source under the supervision of the security guard [KILFI].

5.3.2 Toilets

The availability of toilets is also important to school access. The state census included pit latrines, toilets with water flush and bucket arrangements for pupils only, teachers only and mixed teacher and pupil use. Pit latrines were by far the most common toilets provided in schools. Tables 5.4 and 5.5 show a startling absence of toilet facilities in the schools across the state.

As might be expected from their respective numbers in school, in every case, with the exception of LGEA N1, the proportion of teacher toilets per school was less than for pupils. Nevertheless, the lack of water and toilets has been shown to have negative effects on teacher motivation (Sherry, 2008; FME, 2009b). For pupils, there was effectively one pupil toilet available for every two schools at the state level, and less than that in three sample LGEAs. Only urban LGEA C1 had an average of more than one pupil toilet per school. There was very little difference between the availability of toilets for girls and for boys within the LGEAs, yet at the state level there were only

87 toilets for girls for every one hundred toilets for boys. The general lack of toilet facilities for girls in Nigeria, and elsewhere, has been cited as a significant barrier to their sustained access to school and explained in terms of the need for greater privacy for girls when relieving themselves publicly, and during the onset of menstruation (Lidonde, 2004; Theobald et al., 2007; WaterAid, 2009; UNDP Nigeria, 2010).

Table 5.4 Teacher toilets in public primary schools in the case study LGEAs and Adamawa State

LGEA	Schools (n)	Teacher pit latrines (n)*			All toilets (n)	Average (n) toilets per school
		F	M	Both		
N1	125	22	18	19	85	0.7
N2	76	5	5	5	17	0.2
C1	24	12	11	4	28	1.2
C2	137	12	9	14	51	0.4
S1	124	23	29	7	66	0.5
S2	80	11	12	8	38	0.5
State	1,890	189	206	80	642	0.3

* includes teacher-only and mixed pupil and teacher latrines

Source: Adamawa School Census 2009–10

Table 5.5 Pupil toilets in public primary schools in the case study LGEAs and Adamawa State

LGEA	Schools (n)	Pupil pit latrines (n)*			All toilets (n)	Average toilets per school
		F	M	Both		
N1	125	26	23	17	67	0.3
N2	76	11	11	5	26	0.3
C1	24	15	16	3	39	1.6
C2	137	21	20	11	55	0.4
S1	124	43	43	7	93	0.8
S2	80	21	20	7	47	0.6
State	1890	287	329	71	863	0.5

* includes pupil-only and mixed pupil-and-teacher latrines

Source: Adamawa School Census, (2009–10)

The LGEA averages in Table 5.5 are difficult to reconcile with case study observations, which revealed no toilets for pupils in Kanti, although the teachers were permitted to use the JSS facilities; four dilapidated latrines in Domingo; four blocks in Metropolis, with one exclusively for teachers; two of three blocks in Kilfi for pupil use; two latrines in Doya and six blocks in Baobab. Observations indicated that there was very limited pupil access to any toilets in most case study schools as they were often either locked, unavailable to pupils, filthy or unsafe (see section on School security later in this chapter). In the urban schools, even where there were more toilets available, male pupils were seen kneeling down in many different parts of the school compound to relieve themselves [KILFI], or both girls and boys used the latrine walls [DOMINGO] and, especially in the more rural settings, pupils often went into the bush [KANTI, DOYA]. LGEA staff claimed that as village communities were used to defecating in the bush, the lack of toilet facilities would not be a deterrent to school attendance. Observations in the case study schools provided evidence of a range of toilet practices that included defecating around the toilet area and even in the classrooms, though outsiders were said to be responsible for the latter. This health hazard needs to be addressed and although there was one reported case of a counsellor

showing boys who soiled classrooms where to urinate [KANTI], it appears that pupils and perhaps community members need to be trained how to use the toilets and understand the health risks associated with mis-using classrooms in this way. For many female pupils this was a particular issue as they were often required to clean toilets and classrooms of human (and sometimes animal) excrement.

Water and sanitation have not necessarily been an integral part of school building development even though they are crucial to a healthy school environment. Their relevance to access has been asserted by other research findings:

Attendance rates can rise by as much as 30% when issues such as water and sanitation facilities are addressed." (British Council 2012, p.3)

5.3.3 Health Services

Given the statistical descriptions in Tables 5.3 and 5.5, pupils may be exposed to a number of health risks in school especially where either toilet facilities and/or potable water are not available or not used properly. Previous research shows that although most adult stakeholders do not consider health to be a major problem, many children consider problems with health as a cause of absenteeism and major barrier to school (NPC and RTI International, 2011; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011; see also DOYA). This difference alone suggests the need for further investigation of pupil health. In the case studies the findings are similar; it was only in Kanti that Teachers and a PTA member raised the problems of health and hunger for both pupil attendance and quality of learning.

According to the Adamawa School Census 2009–10 there are no schools in the state with a health worker, clinic or first aid box. The census also reported no school with a specialist HIV/AIDS health worker, despite reports in a national survey that around 10% of households in the North East reported knowing children in the community they believed were absent from school because a parent or guardian was ill with either HIV or AIDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011). In Baobab case study school, however, there was at least a first aid kit in the head teacher's office and community sensitisation about HIV/AIDS and pregnancy had taken place as a means to improve access and reduce the dropout of girls in particular. Further, prompted by health concerns, the community leader had expressed the view that the school needed a clinic (see BAOBAB case study, Appendix IG).

5.3.4 Electrical power

In Adamawa State only 13.3% homes in rural areas, compared to 65% in urban areas have electrical supply (NBS, 2009). While the school census indicates there are only 1% of schools with a power source (ADSUBEB, 2010), case study evidence shows that three of the urban schools have power. Consistent with the rural–urban differences among households, neither of the rural schools has power. While electrical power may not be a high priority in current times, given the above issues with infrastructure and other amenities, it does have a bearing on curriculum offerings in ICT, school security and the use of school facilities after dark. There are some creative possibilities in which with some investment, perhaps through a public–private partnership, schools may be able to generate their own power for use in the classroom.

5.4 THE SCHOOL COMPOUND AND SECURITY

5.4.1 The compound space and use

The case study schools were all set in spacious grounds with plenty of room for break time exercise and play and for assembly, usually between classroom blocks. In two cases churches

were adjacent to the compound [KANTI, DOYA] and signalled a historic connection with the schools and in the case of Kanti, the dominant religion of the school population. The flag pole was the central feature of the assembly grounds and in some cases an improvised school bell was hanging from a tree in the same location. Some schools shared their grounds with the JJS [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS], a pre-school [KILFI, DOYA] or both [BAOBAB]. This often resulted in the mixing of pupils of different ages (including overage pupils) during break. In Kanti the arrangement of the buildings and over-crowding gave a sense of congestion. The school occupied a corner of a shared school campus with buildings built on three sides and a road on the fourth side. The space enclosed by the buildings had three classes under shade, the de facto staff room and was used by pupils at break. The larger playing fields and school farm were behind the classrooms and there was a pathway to the JSS. The head teacher had planted trees to cut this path off and demarcate the boundary with the JSS [KANTI]. In most schools, with the exception of Baobab, there were attempts to keep the school neat and tidy. The pupils' daily or weekly routine included cleaning the compound and classrooms.

While the small crowded compound in Kanti offered a lot of shade, in other schools the shade was minimal and this produced areas of crowding at break times as both teachers and pupils sought cooler conditions [DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB]. Besides the use of the grounds for playing football, mostly by boys and a few small group games often by the younger girls, there were no play facilities in the schools except in the walled compound of the urban Kilfi, although they were for pre-school children. The lack of facilities for sports and play, the unsuitability of the stony, uneven grounds for play, and the way its use was gendered, were issues raised by parents and LGEA staff in Doya. They thought that the availability of these facilities would encourage enrolment and retention.

5.4.2 School gates and fences

A key issue in all schools was the school fence/wall. Again with the exception of urban Kilfi and Metropolis, which were both fenced and with security guards on the main gate, none of the other four case study schools had a secure perimeter or gate. The location of all the schools relatively near to a road heightened the significance of compound security for all stakeholders in the four schools that were unfenced. The need for a secure perimeter was described as a top priority by the SBMC, PTA and parents in Kanti, where young pupils had to leave the school compound and cross the road to get to the available water source. In this school, and elsewhere, the proximity of roads to unfenced schools had caused traffic accidents involving school pupils [KANTI, DOMINGO]. In two other cases there were thoroughfares actually through the school grounds. Even in the recently upgraded Baobab, a road with cars, motorbikes, cycles and pedestrians went straight through the middle of the school playgrounds between pre-school and primary classrooms. This was a continuous disruption and distraction that also brought the dangers of road traffic into the school compound and near some very young school pupils. In the more rural location of Doya, farmers and villagers crossed the school grounds at will, with goats and sheep sometimes straying into the classrooms.

The school fence or wall raised many issues of school security that are highly significant to school access and strongly related to the way the school and the community worked together. Baobab provides a prime example of the problems. Despite constant efforts by the school and some community members to maintain the perimeter cement wall and lockable gate, they were persistently breached and broken by people moving around and through the school. Although the LGEA had contributed temporarily with a security guard, he had apparently not been paid and stopped working. The lack of resolution or action concerning the ongoing situation raises the question of responsibility and accountability for school security; in this case most community

stakeholders and teachers thought responsibility lay with the government or LGEA, whereas the LGEA staff regarded it as the head teacher's responsibility [BAOBAB].

A school fence may also have positive benefits for both the management of teachers and pupils as well as for their security. In addition to marking the school out within the community, a secure fence and gate can help monitor the flow of strangers through the school compound. It can also also facilitate better management control over both pupils and teachers, and reduce truancy and absenteeism, thereby bolstering efforts to improve quality teaching, learning and performance. To this extent the gate and fence are integral to the school building and a vital aspect of infrastructural development.

The siting of schools was at the heart of some of these security problems. At the national level too, the problems of school location have been reported as problematic such as the mobile and fixed school initiatives for children from nomadic communities (Iro, 2001; Usman, 2006). In the case study example of Baobab, it transpired that although most of the community wanted the school, the location and road closure had not been negotiated with the wider community. In other schools too, the issue of school land continues to be contentious causing poor relations between the school and the community [KANTI, DOYA]. In one case the LGEA staff had intervened with respect to the land but the lack of funds to repair the nearby school water pump had left the school without accessible drinking water [KANTI]. The issue of school land and safe access to water continue to feed tensions between schools and communities [DOYA]. Without the existence of good relations, a process for resolution or the intervention by government/the LGEA, such cases tend to be dealt with (if at all) in an adhoc way that depends on personalities and influence rather than systems of responsibility or accountability (See Chapter 9 for further discussion).

5.4.4 Outsider encroachment

All four schools without secure fencing and gates experienced problems associated with unauthorised access to the school. Given the high premium on the safety of children, and of girls in particular, this is a critical access and retention issue. Across the case studies there are several examples of both pupils and teachers leaving school unquestioned, unsupervised and unmonitored [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB]. Even in the fenced or walled schools, there was evidence of pupil pathways out of the compound, for example gaps in the fence or ladder holes cut into the high walls [METROPOLIS, KILFI]. Pupils often left school to look for food, water or pencils and books – often they did not return.

The multiple incidents of outsiders entering and loitering in and around the school compound threatened school and pupil security. Hawkers, mainly women and girls, are a constant feature of school grounds even in the walled Kilfi compound. In certain schools this was more regulated [KILFI, BAOBAB] as these traders were sent away after break but in other cases they loitered in the compound or at an edge by the roadside. In Baobab, very young out-of-school girls were among the hawkers, who were joined by other schoolgirl hawkers coming from class to trade during break.

In some schools, passers-by entered compounds from any direction and wandered through the school and classrooms rarely being challenged [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA]. Some shouted at pupils and teachers and others waited for break and the opportunity to mix with the pupils [KANTI]. The apparent disrespect for the school boundaries by some community members was visible in the dumping of rubbish and the presence of goats or sheep in classrooms, with their droppings alongside human faeces found in classrooms, around the edges of the school grounds or around latrines [DOYA]. The health hazards were multiplied where the school grounds were

liable to flooding [BAOBAB]. Pupils, teachers, community members and LGEA staff all raised these issues and the issue of vandalism that had at various times spoiled efforts to beautify the compound, plant trees for shade, or maintain classroom conditions e.g. putting in glass windows panes.

These encroachments onto the school compound took place both during and after school hours in several of the case study schools. Observations indicated young men loitering around unfenced school compounds, some apparently drinking alcohol or using drugs, usually near toilet blocks or around the school perimeter and the main entrance. The effect was to make the toilets an intimidating place to go near, especially for young girls who require more privacy than boys. In Baobab young pupils trying to get into school often used holes in the wall or side entrances avoiding the main gates where these disaffected youths were often found. In other cases in Baobab, pupils were reportedly abused and insulted on their way into school by 'okada' drivers or 'area boys' often from outside the immediate community, who were also reported to have intruded into the school buildings to disrupt pupils during school hours.

At night some schools were used as gathering places, or party venues, by men and some women. The proximity of a late-opening music bar in Kanti, for example, was a particular problem. The resultant mess in the school was usually left for pupils, mainly girls, to clear up the next morning before class. This can act as a disincentive to come to school on time, or at all, and it was one of the key complaints from pupils in Kanti. Although not reported in the case studies, national-level research suggests that although under-reported, there are increased risks of gender violence in these unregulated and insecure environments (Ikechebelu *et al.*, 2008; Aransiola *et al.*, 2009).

5.5 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY AND OUTCOMES)

The interweaving of case study research data, national and state-level surveys and previous research in this chapter have highlighted the significance of infrastructure to issues of access, retention and quality in school. Summary points have been drawn together in this section and these include elaborating on specific gender effects.

The proximity of schools to communities and families was important for encouraging access and for retention. Pupils who live furthest from school tend to start late and remain at risk of drop out. This is especially significant for girls in Adamawa as their enrolments lag behind those of boys and safety concerns are among the key reasons not to send girls to school.

The appearance and quality of school buildings is important to decisions about school choice, for parents and pupils. The presence of a well-kept school makes a statement about the importance of education and is referred to by all stakeholders as a context to both enjoy and admire. There appeared to be greater status attached to schools with blocks of more than one storey.

The quality of new school buildings and the finishing was disappointing in places, which suggests that the commissioning processes and quality control measures need to be tightened.

Much has been accomplished but clearly a lot remains to be done. The incremental upgrading and development of schools invites questions about the processes through which schools are 'selected' for refurbishment or rebuilding. While recommendations pass from LGEAs to ADSUBEB, there appear to be political influences interfering with a systematic and equitable decision-making process. The potential for disgruntlement and disaffection of teachers, parents and others trying hard to improve educational opportunities in their communities is high. A more explicit process perhaps based on a school development plan could contribute to a more transparent selection process.

There is an evident need to balance community mobilisation efforts with infrastructural development. The detrimental effects of overcrowding on school quality and retention in the longer term need to be borne in mind especially in poor communities, where child labour is in demand to sustain family life. There may be some creative opportunities to consider different school types or timings in ways that still reach those who are at risk of missing school or learning very little if they do attend.

A secure school compound is critical for a school and must be included in infrastructural plans. In addition to the fences and gates needed to demarcate the school boundaries, there is apparent need for paid security personnel to monitor outsiders entering and leaving the compound. These measures are fundamental to pupil and teacher safety within school, and to reassuring parents that their children, especially girls, are not endangered while at school.

A water source and clean, working toilets are also basic to school infrastructure and integral to the establishment of a school. Without these basic amenities pupils remain at risk of truancy and teachers at risk of absenteeism. The lack of these basic amenities is associated with health and safety risks that are raised by pupils as a reason to truant or not to attend school. This has particular implications for girls, who require greater privacy in usual circumstances and particularly in the on-set of menstruation.

Communications between the school, the community and the LGEA are vital to the establishment and location of the school. A forum that highlights the importance of negotiation and collaboration between these three interest groups has the potential to strengthen school–community cohesion in ways that could increase school access, improve conditions and educational quality. Many problems with access and retention appear to have emerged from miscommunication and lack of consultation.

Channelling health education through schools represents one way to deal with the evident issues around toilet use, basic hygiene and communicable diseases for pupils, communities and teachers. It could facilitate a cleaner safer environment, deal with the ‘mysteries’ around menstruation, and help to address the dropout caused by pupil and family illness and girls reaching puberty. It might also work to enhance reciprocal relations between schools and communities.

CHAPTER 6 TEACHERS AND TEACHER MANAGEMENT

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers teachers and teacher management, drawing on data from the case study schools and LGEAs as well as interview data from ADSUBEB members. A national study of teacher motivation among primary and junior secondary school teachers has pointed to low morale and a lack of commitment among teachers (Sherry, 2008), resulting in serious teacher absenteeism, which has been described as “endemic” in some public primary schools, especially in rural areas (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Ahmed *et al.*, 2008). The Federal Ministry of Education recognises this, and the fact that in part it is due to low pay, inadequate teacher support and inadequate school infrastructure (FME, 2009b). ADSUBEB interviewees also raised concerns about teacher professionalism and motivation and confirmed that it is a priority to ensure that teachers are motivated, committed, disciplined and adequately trained and supervised so that teaching quality is improved [ADSUBEB officers]. As one Board member put it: “Teachers are the bedrock of educational development” and therefore we need to “work on teachers in terms of welfare, quality and discipline.” These and other issues are explored in this chapter.

First, teacher appointments, qualifications and distribution are considered, focusing on the processes of appointing and distributing teachers at state, LGEA and school level, and the relative distribution of qualified and unqualified teachers according to gender. The lens then turns to teachers’ pay and conditions, which, as stated above, have been identified as pivotal to the lack of teacher motivation and professionalism among many teachers, as has a poor teaching environment (Sherry, 2008). The next section looks at teachers’ roles within the school, in terms of responsibilities, before considering teacher management and support more generally. The chapter ends by examining the data on teacher discipline, both the disciplinary issues that occur, such as absenteeism and unregulated corporal punishment, and the procedures and practices that deal with such infractions. The chapter ends with a summary of the main points concerning teachers and teacher management and the implications for school access and educational quality.

6.2 APPOINTMENTS, QUALIFICATIONS AND DISTRIBUTION

Only half the teachers nationally hold the minimum teacher qualification, the National Certificate in Education (NCE) (FME, 2009a; Omo-Ojugo, 2009; USAID, 2009), and this lack of qualified teachers has been reported as worse in the more rural, northern regions of the country (FME, 2009a). Data from 2006 indicate that in Adamawa State only 37% of primary school teachers were qualified, as opposed to 90% in Lagos State (NBS and NMEC, 2010). Our analysis of 2009–10 EMIS data, however, indicates that 60% of the 13,000 public primary teachers in Adamawa State are now qualified, and 9% are graduates. As highlighted in Chapter 4, in Adamawa State the profession is male-dominated, and there are fewer female teachers and fewer qualified teachers in rural areas. Table 6.1 below also illustrates that generally a higher proportion of male teachers are qualified than female teachers. At the state level, the ratio of qualified to unqualified teachers is 2.7:1 for female teachers and 3.2:1 for male teachers although the figures for the case study LGEAs show considerable variation. In LGEA N1, for example, where the 6:1 ratio indicates that there are six times as many qualified than unqualified male teachers, it is only 1.3:1 for female teachers. In other words, there are almost as many unqualified as qualified female teachers. This may be due in part, at least, to the formal and informal practices that discriminate against female staff and students that have been reported in colleges of education (Bakari, 2004) and/or to how teachers are deployed. In two of the case study LGEAs [N2 and S2], however, there was very little difference in the ratios, and in two other urban LGEAs the ratio of qualified to unqualified teachers was better for women than for men [C1 and S1].

Table 6.1 Ratio of qualified to unqualified teachers by gender in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs

LGEA	Teachers	Female teachers	Male teachers
State total	2.9	2.7	3.2
Northern 1	1.7	1.3	6.0
Northern 2	0.8	0.8	1.0
Central 1	5.7	6.6	4.9
Central 2	--*	--*	--*
Southern 1	0.9	1.0	0.8
Southern 2	N/A	N/A	N/A

*EMIS data for teachers in LGEA C2 is an extreme value so it has been excluded from the analysis.

Source: EMIS 2009–10

At the same time, however, it should be borne in mind that possession of a paper qualification is not necessarily a guarantee of greater professional competence. As one Board member said: “NCE is only a paper qualification. About 80–85% of teachers would not pass any proper testing”, though this problem is not restricted to Adamawa. For example, a large-scale assessment of teacher development needs conducted in Kwara State concluded that out of over 19,000 basic education teachers, “only 75 reached even minimum standards” (Thomas, 2011).

When it comes to head teachers, the gender difference is even more marked, as Table 6.2 also illustrates. Over 90% of head teachers are male across the state; even in LGEA S2, where a greater proportion of public primary school teachers are female, over three-quarters of head teachers are male; and in C1, where 63% of the teaching force is said to be female, still 95.9% of school heads are male. Figures for Central 1 suggest gender parity among head teachers, but the fact that these figures are severely out of line with data for other LGEAs casts doubt on their reliability. The extreme gender imbalances in head teacher appointments cannot be explained simply as a result of the fewer qualified female teachers from which to select a head teacher. The processes of being appointed as a teacher, of gaining qualifications, and of being promoted to head teacher clearly need closer scrutiny. This is important both for improving gender equality for female teachers, and for increasing girls’ participation in school, which the Federal Government explicitly acknowledges in its National Policy on Gender in Basic Education (FME, 2007a). The processes of teacher appointment and distribution, as explained below, give some indication as to the reasons for these persistent inequities.

Table 6.2 Number and percentage of qualified teachers by gender in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs

LGEA	Teachers	Teachers (%F)	Teachers (%M)	Head teachers	Head teachers (%F)	Head teachers (%M)
Northern 1	1,177	42	58	81	9.9	90.1
Northern 2	692	34	66	66	6.1	93.9
Central 1	708	63	37	22	50.0	50.0
Central 2	--*	--*	--*	--*	--*	--*
Southern 1	850	12	88	98	5.1	94.9
Southern 2	511	55	45	52	23.1	76.9
State total	13,309	35	65	1,490	9.0	91.0

* Extreme values entered in database and therefore not used for calculation

Source: EMIS 2009–10

Within Adamawa, the appointment and posting of teachers is managed by the state board and by LGEAs. As in other states, ADSUBEB has oversight of several teacher employment-related responsibilities including recruitment, promotion, salaries of qualified teachers and serious disciplinary issues although much of this has been further devolved to the LGEA level [ADSUBEB member]. So, for example, teacher appointments are made through ADSUBEB but teacher deployment is done by the LGEA. According to some Board members, despite the sufficient recruitment of teachers, they are poorly distributed within the state leaving some schools with very few qualified teachers [ADSUBEB members]. Data for our case study LGEAs and schools bear this out, showing great variation among LGEAs and among schools, and even within LGEAs, as figures for some of the case study schools vary greatly from the LGEA average. So, for example in Baobab school 79.5% of teachers are female, as compared to the LGEA S2 figure of 55%; in line with national trends, the two most rural schools in our study have the lowest percentages both of qualified teachers and of female teachers in our sample. See Chapter 4 for further details.

A key reason given for this situation was cited as the failure of the ES to move teachers, which in turn was related to politics at the LGEA level. This resonates with findings reported elsewhere in Nigeria (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Williams, 2009). The interface between political representation and educational governance has particular significance at the LGEA level as the ES is appointed by the SUBEB from candidates recommended by the chair of the LGC, who is affiliated to the local ruling party, but, as has been found in other states, may not necessarily have the requisite educational expertise (Williams, 2009).

Once appointed, the ES is then responsible for the appointment of head teachers and the transfer of teachers. Attempts to address problems of distribution by ADSUBEB have included setting teacher transfer deadlines for some ESs who, in some cases, have been compromised by threats when they have tried to move teachers [ADSUBEB officials]. The reluctance to transfer results from teachers not wanting to work in 'ordinary' schools, female teacher preference for urban schools where they can stay with their husbands, and teachers operating lucrative 'scams' or swindling parents. In addition to this, the higher costs of qualified teachers also influence teacher distribution within LGEAs [ADSUBEB officials]. There were complaints from three of the six case study LGEAs about the politicisation of appointments, be they of teachers, head teachers and/or school supervisors [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS].

At the head teacher level, in addition to political considerations, an ES may prefer to appoint a head teacher on a lower grade if they themselves are only at Level 12 in order to feel less threatened [ADSUBEB member]. On the other hand, it has been found that teachers lack trust, loyalty and respect for the head teacher's authority if the appointment has not been made on the basis of qualifications, experience and ability, [ADSUBEB member], resonating with findings from the national study on teacher motivation (Sherry, 2008).

At the case study level it was only in one out of six schools, Baobab, that satisfaction was expressed in general about the numbers of qualified teachers. In other schools, school, community and LGEA staff bemoaned the shortage of qualified teachers either within the case study school or across the LGEA more generally [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA]. The specific problem of the non-replacement of teachers transferred from rural schools was voiced by community members and recognised by LGEA staff [DOYA, BAOBAB]. Specific shortages were also reported, including of female teachers; Doya in particular, a rural school, had only two unqualified female teachers out of a total of thirteen staff (one away on maternity leave; the other only temporary). Other reported shortages included teachers of Islamic Religious

Knowledge (IRK) and Christian Religious Knowledge (CRK) [DOYA, BAOBAB], and teachers with a good command of English [KANTI].

Efforts to improve the availability of teachers included head teachers asking for unpaid help from community members with some form of educational certification, even if not for teaching, and from school leavers [DOYA]; parents helping by collectively contributing ₦500 to ₦1000 a month to pay for three retired school teachers to teach part-time [DOYA]; and LGEAs starting to consider ways to experiment with teacher transfer and to offer allowances for teachers who agree to go to rural areas [DOMINGO, BAOBAB]. One LGEA said they were already practising a teacher recruitment policy that favoured employing “indigenes”, who would then be posted to their home town or village [KILFI].

6.3 TEACHER ROLES WITHIN SCHOOL

In addition to classroom teaching, teachers across the case study schools fulfilled a number of other functions within the schools. All schools had at least one assistant head teacher. Other special responsibilities mentioned included discipline, health, games, quizzes, debates, counselling, exams, pupil labour, school houses, uniforms and the library. In addition to these more long-term responsibilities, there were duty teachers who rotated; they were usually in charge of dealing with pupil latecoming, patrolling the compound at break, and sometimes during lesson times, and conducting assembly. In the three schools where criteria for allocation of responsibilities were mentioned, appointments were said to be based on “merit” [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS], which in two schools included neatness [KANTI, DOMINGO], among other criteria such as punctuality, attitude towards pupils and knowledge. For example in one school the teacher in charge of health was a local pharmacist [KANTI]; in another school, a teacher with a qualification in guidance and counselling was put in charge of counselling [DOMINGO].

There were insufficient data to do a complete gender analysis of the roles and responsibilities across the schools but the available data suggest a certain degree of gender stereotyping with teacher responsibilities, in that more men were in senior management positions and in charge of traditionally masculine jobs such as labour and discipline whereas women were often favoured for the stereotypically female nurturing role of health (see Bakari, 2011, for similar findings at JSS level). All head teachers were male and most assistant head teachers were male, though two schools had female assistant head teachers [KANTI, BAOBAB]. It was unclear whether the “senior mistress” mentioned in two schools [BAOBAB, METROPOLIS] had similar management status. In addition, teachers in charge of discipline were male [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA], except where discipline was the responsibility of the rotating duty teachers [BAOBAB], or where there was a “discipline master” in charge of boys, and a “discipline mistress” in charge of girls [METROPOLIS]. In all four schools that mentioned having a teacher responsible for pupil labour, which also often involved a disciplinary function, the post holder was male [KANTI, METROPOLIS, DOYA, BAOBAB]. In one school the head teacher acknowledged that it was theoretically possible for a female teacher to be a “discipline master” [KANTI] though another head teacher said that it had to be someone that the pupils feared [DOMINGO]. In contrast, in three of the four schools that reported having a teacher in charge of health, the incumbent was female; the one male was selected for the post because he was a practising pharmacist, as mentioned above.

6.4 PAY AND CONDITIONS

Pay was a key issue for teachers as they earned below the minimum wage despite being paid an inducement allowance that gives them more income than other civil servants. The funds for teacher pay are channelled from the federal government to the state government and then to

local government based on a formula calculated on EMIS data returns [ADSUBEB member]. In all six case study schools, teachers' main complaints about their job overwhelmingly related to low salaries and delays in payments and/or increments, and lack of a consistent pay structure, echoing the findings in Sherry's (2008) national study on teacher motivation. Teachers often interpreted low or late pay as a sign of a lack of concern or neglect by government [DOMINGO, KILFI, METROPOLIS, BAOBAB], again resonating with the national study. LGEA staff, parents and community members were often sympathetic to teachers' concerns about pay, regarding it as an important issue to be addressed by government [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, DOYA, BAOBAB].

The consequences of low and delayed pay were described in terms of low teacher morale [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, DOYA], teacher absenteeism [DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB] and teachers' strikes [DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB], which in turn were associated with poor educational quality [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, DOYA, BAOBAB]. One LGEA official identified low salaries as affecting the retention of male teachers in particular since the salaries were insufficient to support a family [BAOBAB], a point also made in the national study on teachers' voice (Sherry, 2008). Teachers in one school also admitted that the reluctance to use teaching aids other than chalk was directly related to problems with their pay [BAOBAB]. In addition, one ES proposed abolishing the Level 14 salary cap for degree-holding primary teachers, who could reach Level 17 if they were teaching at secondary school, arguing that it encourages a brain drain from primary schools [DOMINGO].

In addition to improved pay and prompt salary payments, suggested incentives to address teacher motivation included increased opportunities for further study or training [KANTI, DOYA], teacher housing on or near the school [DOYA], transfer of teachers to posts nearer their home [DOMINGO], and provision of more opportunities for teacher promotion [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, DOYA]. LGEA officials [N2, C1, S2] raised the need for a duty post allowances to be used as incentives and one official had promised allowances to head teachers and school supervisors in their LGEA [N2]. On the other hand ADSUBEB members described some cash incentives for teachers who engaged in after school coaching of pupils in the examination year, which had worked well in raising examination performance; the Board was also about to start a housing loan scheme for teachers [ADSUBEB officials].

6.5 SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

School and classroom conditions are also crucial to teacher motivation and teaching quality. The issue of classroom overcrowding was raised by teachers in several case study schools [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, DOYA]; it was also brought up in the national survey (Sherry, 2008), and was recognised at the Board level as affecting teachers' ability to carry out effective teaching [ADSUBEB officer]. One of the main indicators used to determine the extent of classroom overcrowding is the pupil-teacher ratio. Table 6.3 shows the pupil-teacher ratios for public primary schools in Adamawa State, focusing on the case study LGEAs, using the 2009-10 EMIS data. The table offers a comparison with research data supplied by the case study schools.

The EMIS data indicate that the pupil-teacher ratio for the state and all the case study LGEAs is better than the nationally recommended ratio of 35:1 (FRN, 2004b), with a state average of 28:1. The EMIS data also suggest very little variation among LGEAs in terms of the pupil-teacher ratio, ranging from only 21.9 to 29.8, yet among the case study schools the variation is vast, from an improbable 17:1 to 41.9:1. A comparison of the schools' pupil-teacher ratios with the class sizes of the lessons that were observed raises even further questions. For example, in Domingo, which supposedly has a pupil-teacher ratio of 27.4: 1, the class sizes of the seven observed lessons ranged from 65 to 76 in size; conversely, in Baobab, the pupil-teacher ratio of 41.9 is considerably higher than the 24.3 for the LGEA while the observed class sizes of 20 to 27 are improbably small,

given that the school has over 3,000 pupils enrolled. Possible explanations for the higher observed class sizes than the pupil–teacher ratio indicates may be because classes are put together when teachers are absent or because there are insufficient classrooms in the school. Indeed in some observed classes two teachers were with the class. Pupil absenteeism may explain the low pupil numbers in some classes.

Table 6.3 Pupil–teacher ratio in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study schools and LGEAs

LGEA	Pupil–teacher ratio *	Case study school	Pupil–teacher ratio **	Observed class sizes ***
Northern 1	21.9	Kanti	37.5	35–49
Northern 2	28.0	Domingo	27.6	65–76
Central 1	27.5	Metropolis	23.5	35–49
Central 2	– ****	Kilfi	17.8	38–50
Southern 1	29.8	Doya	39.4	28–36
Southern 2	24.3	Baobab	41.9	20–27
State average	28.0		28.0	

*EMIS 2009–10

** Data supplied by the case study schools for 2010–11

*** Observational data from school visits

****Extreme values entered appear improbable and so were not used for calculation.

Thus, a comparison of the EMIS data with the two sets of data supplied by the case study schools raises questions both about the reliability of the EMIS data and the usefulness of the pupil–teacher ratio as an indicator of classroom overcrowding and as a basis for decision-making about teacher distribution (see Section 6.1 above). As regards the effect of overcrowded classrooms on teachers, the national teacher motivation survey (Sherry, 2008) concluded that large classes contributed to teacher pressure, often leading to excessive use of corporal punishment. Excessive and unregulated beating of pupils was also evident in our study (see Section 6.7)

Shortage of textbooks was also a major concern among teachers in the case study schools [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, DOYA, BAOBAB], as was a shortage of teaching aids [DOYA], echoing the national survey, in which lack of school learning materials was the second most demotivating factor affecting teachers, after issues related to pay and conditions (Sherry, 2008). At the same time it was widely recognised that ADSUBEB had substantially increased textbook provision [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, KILFI, BAOBAB]. As one Board member explained, textbook distribution is being changed from distribution via the LGEA, to direct distribution to schools based on EMIS data on pupil numbers since previously some LGEAs did not collect their book allocation from ADSUBEB, and others did not distribute fairly to schools, preferring to send books to the larger schools. Additionally there was some “leakage” with books ending up in homes or for sale in markets. ADSUBEB’s initiative of customising books with a “not for sale” watermark and direct distribution to schools was thought to be helping to address the shortage of textbooks in schools. To ensure the book distribution was working well, the Board had budgeted for a monitoring team to visit a third, to two thirds of schools to check that the books have arrived. The Board member further explained that although ADSUBEB lacks the financial capacity for every child to have all the textbooks they are aiming for one textbook per subject between two children.

Poor teaching conditions were also brought up as a reason for teacher dissatisfaction in a few schools, specifically, leaking classrooms [KANTI, DOMINGO] and inadequate furniture [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA]. As a teacher in one school put it: “Even the teachers, sometimes we stand;

we don't have seats" [DOMINGO]. Lack of security due to unfenced compounds was a further issue of dissatisfaction and stress for teachers, with teachers complaining of filthy classrooms or compounds, which sometimes contained human faeces [DOMINGO, BAOBAB], and of the difficulty in monitoring and apprehending latecomers and/or preventing pupils from leaving the premises [DOYA, BAOBAB]. The ease with which pupils could disappear during the day adversely affected some teachers' motivation to go to class [BAOBAB]. Again, however, it was recognised that considerable progress had been made by the Board to improve teaching conditions in some schools, especially through new infrastructure and furniture [METROPOLIS, KILFI, BAOBAB].

6.6 TEACHER MANAGEMENT AND SUPPORT

6.6.1. At the school level

Nationally, there is a dearth of available research on school management at primary level, though the national teacher motivation study (Sherry, 2008) indicates that there is no policy on the roles and responsibilities of head teachers and widely divergent views among stakeholders. Information on school management from the case study schools is also fairly limited. The school management team in the case study schools consisted of a head teacher, appointed at LGEA level by the ES, and assistant head teacher(s) and/or "senior mistress", appointed by the head teacher. ADSUBEB eventually plans to develop criteria to monitor head teacher quality [ADSUBEB member]. Currently, head teachers get no extra duty allowance [ADSUBEB member] although head teachers had requested one [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS], which one LGEA has promised to implement [N2].

In all six case study schools and/or LGEAs there was evidence of the head teacher's involvement in appointing teachers to special responsibilities within the school and in disciplining teachers (and pupils), which one head teacher pointed out can cause friction between head teachers and teaching staff: "Affected teachers feel the impact. It never happened in my school, but in some schools they (teachers) harass the head teacher, by shouting at the head teacher that he causes this and that but they finally come to school to teach." [KANTI]. However, as one Board member explained, and the study on teachers' voice concluded (Sherry, 2008), teachers will only respect and cooperate with the head teacher if they think the head teacher has been appointed on merit. Section 6.7 below looks in more detail at head teachers' involvement in disciplining teachers.

In a national study on teachers, it was thought that head teachers were often aware of their shortcomings and wanted management training; head teachers that had some training apparently felt more comfortable in their jobs and were generally better appreciated by teachers (Sherry, 2008). In the case study schools, only one head teacher and assistant head teacher expressed a need for further training [METROPOLIS] while another praised a training course he had attended [KILFI]. However, the difficulty several head teachers experienced in understanding and completing the school data sheets points to the need for further professional development and capacity building.

Very little data were gathered on head teachers' involvement, or not, in offering pedagogical support to teachers although mention was made of monitoring teachers' work [DOMINGO], sending teachers on workshops [METROPOLIS], passing on learning from their own training to teachers [KILFI], and organising in-house training for staff on new concepts and pedagogy, conducted by teachers who have had further training [METROPOLIS].

6.6.2 At the LGEA level

Head teachers and teachers generally felt that LGEAs, and school supervisors in particular, offered support to teachers, in particular by providing or sending teachers on in-service training,

often to upgrade their qualifications to NCE [KANTI, METROPOLIS, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB] although as highlighted earlier (Section 6.2), possession of paper qualifications is no guarantee of possessing the requisite skills or knowledge to teach effectively (Theobald *et al.*, 2007; Johnson, 2009). School supervisors reportedly visited schools regularly although it was clear that this support was primarily advisory and administrative, as found in other states in Nigeria (Williams, 2009), with supervisors checking registers, lesson notes and the whether or not teachers were in class teaching [DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA]. However, there were also reports of LGEAs offering training on specific issues, such as how to use teaching aids or lesson notes [DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB], though it is not known how effective the training was. LGEA officials too recognised that teachers need regular professional development to improve teaching quality [DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB] although as one Board member explained, new ideas passed on in workshops are rarely tried out in the classroom, and while teachers are keen to attend workshops, the educational content is not always the greatest priority. Other Board members also acknowledged what is suggested in the literature, namely that the quality of teacher education itself is a problem (Akinbote, 2007; Bakari, 2007; Tahir and Girei, 2008; USAID, 2009; Omo-Ojugo, 2009; UNDP Nigeria, 2010). The need to revise teacher development programmes, involving less lecturing and more school-based training, following diagnostic work with teachers, as suggested in other studies (e.g. Hardman Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008) was recognised by one Board member; so too was the need to enhance the capacity of school supervisors and head teachers to enable them to give appropriate support to teachers [ADSUBEB member]. It was acknowledged that outside expertise might need to be sought since many teacher educators were themselves suffering from poor professional knowledge and skills being products of a similar less than adequate teacher training [ADSUBEB member]. In the words of one ES: “We need new innovations in our profession.” The new national initiative to start a two-year internship for newly qualified teachers with NCE, and a one-year one for graduates, would seem to be a step in the right direction but the need for further training of supervisors and head teachers to support this intervention still remains.

6.7 TEACHER DISCIPLINE

Teacher discipline, like teacher appointments, has primarily been devolved to the sub-national level despite the existence of the Teachers’ Registration Council (TCRN). This is the national body that aims to control and regulate the teaching profession at all levels, and includes the Teachers’ Investigative Panel (TIP), which is open to any member of the public to register a complaint about a teaching professional. Complaints, in turn, are investigated by the Teachers’ Disciplinary Committee (TDC), which exists at national and state level. However, in none of the data gathered in this research was any mention made of the TCRN, TIP or TDC, perhaps because these have only recently been established. In practice, it appears that teachers are initially accountable to the head teacher although the head teacher has no right to dismiss a teacher [ADSUBEB official]. If a teacher fails to reform after being spoken to by the head teacher, then they are referred to the LGEA, generally via the school supervisor, and, failing that, to ADSUBEB.

6.7.1 Disciplinary issues

This section first summarises the findings on teacher discipline in terms of teacher self-discipline and professionalism before considering the actual disciplining of teachers.

Respondents across the six case studies expressed concern about the lack of teacher professionalism among some teachers, which affected the case study schools to varying degrees, and was said to be an issue across all the LGEAs more broadly. The main criticism levelled at teachers was absenteeism and truancy [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB], especially on market days [DOYA], and teacher latecoming [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, KILFI,

BAOBAB], which is also widely reported in the literature (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Ahmed *et al.*, 2008; Sherry, 2008), and was confirmed by Board members. School observations showed the problem to be particularly acute in one rural school, where no teaching occurred on two of the four research visits [DOYA], and in one of the urban schools, where teaching often petered out after break [BAOBAB]. Some teachers reportedly come to school, but often sit around under the trees when they should be teaching [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB]. Researcher observations confirmed this. In a couple of schools pupils thought that absenteeism and latecoming particularly applied to some female teachers [DOMINGO, BAOBAB]. Persistent teacher absenteeism and latecoming was said to have a negative impact on pupil attendance, punctuality and retention [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, BAOBAB], to be detrimental to educational quality [DOMINGO, BAOBAB], and to affect the morale of other teachers [KILFI, BAOBAB].

In addition, criticisms of teachers at school or LGEA-level included a lack of, or inadequate, lesson preparation [METROPOLIS, DOYA, BAOBAB]; no use of instructional materials [KILFI]; and non-adherence to the syllabus or skipping topics [KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB] (see Chapter 8). Issues with teacher drunkenness [S1] and misuse of loans [N1] were also mentioned in two LGEAs.

The main explanation given for teacher absenteeism, truancy, latecoming or unprofessional conduct in the classroom was low morale and lack of commitment, for the reasons cited in Section 6.4 [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, DOYA, BAOBAB], which Board members also referred to. Other reasons for absenteeism and latecoming included teachers living far from the school [DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA], undertaking part-time studies [METROPOLIS], or attending to family issues [DOMINGO]. The Board was intending to begin offering teachers loans to start addressing the housing issues [ADSUBEB member]. In one school, it was suggested that more female teachers were late, or did not prepare their lessons properly, because they had to finish household chores before school [METROPOLIS]. In terms of addressing issues related to teaching, it was recognised that teachers need greater professional support, as discussed in Section 6.5.

Another pervasive disciplinary problem was excessive or unauthorised use of corporal punishment by teachers [ALL SCHOOLS], which could result in poor pupil learning experiences, pupil truancy and dropout [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, KILFI, BAOBAB]. This issue was generally seen to apply more to male teachers [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, KILFI, BAOBAB]. The reasons for excessive corporal punishment suggested by one Board member and the national teachers' voice survey (Sherry, 2008) include teacher frustration at their inability to carry out their job in difficult circumstances. The issue of corporal punishment is discussed further in Chapter 7. Even before the *Professional Standards for Nigerian Teachers* (FME, 2011) spelt out that corporal punishment is no longer acceptable in school, ADSUBEB had demanded its abolition while recognising that there was much resistance among teachers [ADSUBEB members].

Finally, the sensitive issue of sexual harassment or violence by some male teachers (or male pupils) was only explicitly mentioned in one LGEA, [C1] in relation to several rape cases that were successfully prosecuted by ADSUBEB. Silence on the issue is unsurprising given denial of sexual violence by teachers and other adults was a feature of the FME's national assessment on violence in basic education (FME, 2007b); although around 11% female learners admitted they knew of cases of rape in school, not one female teacher acknowledged its existence and only 2% of male teachers did. Board members acknowledged that sexual harassment is more widespread [ADSUBEB officials], as other studies in Nigeria, and elsewhere, have shown (Action Aid 2004, cited in Antonowicz, 2010; Osakue, 2006; FME, 2007b; Para-Mallam, 2010), and as is explicitly acknowledged in the *National Policy on Gender in Basic Education*. (FME, 2007a).

6.7.2 Disciplinary procedures

As highlighted above, procedures regarding teacher accountability went upwards from the head teacher, to the LGEA via the school supervisor and/or the ES, and then to ADSUBEB. There were no procedures specified concerning accountability outwards to the community and actions that the community could take as regards teacher (or head teacher) professionalism beyond voicing concerns to the school via the PTA executive.

The disciplinary procedures as explained by an ADSUBEB member, were as follows: a teacher who is absent for a day without permission, or who commits any other kind of offence should get a warning from the head teacher, ideally a written query, copied to the LGEA, including the SS. Then, depending on the response, the head teacher should inform the LGEA. The LGEA reserves the right to act if the offence is serious, and should also inform ADSUBEB. A teacher who is absent from school for a week without giving a reason should automatically be dismissed [ADSUBEB member]. The head teacher does not have the authority to dismiss a teacher and in practice, according to one Board member, there is often a degree of collusion and cover-up at school or LGEA level [ADSUBEB member].

Only limited data were gathered on teacher discipline in practice and teacher absenteeism was almost the only offence that was specifically mentioned. Head teachers reported that they generally discussed the issue with the teacher concerned [KANTI, DOMINGO, BAOBAB], or sometimes referred them to the counselling teacher [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, BAOBAB]. If that does not work, they may talk to friends of the teacher concerned [KILFI, BAOBAB]. In one school, teachers were reportedly referred to a disciplinary or advisory committee [KILFI, METROPOLIS]. Mention was made by one head teacher of giving a verbal warning [BAOBAB]; otherwise, “persistent offenders” are referred to the LGEA, either to the school supervisor, or the ES [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, KILFI, DOYA]. The LGEA then summons the teacher to the LGEA. In one school the school supervisor said they preferred to sort issues at the school level rather than involving the ES [METROPOLIS]. Very serious offences are referred to the Board [KANTI, METROPOLIS]. However, it was not clear from the data, whether any precise guidelines existed as to what constituted a “persistent offender”, or whether it was a more ad hoc decision.

Measures taken by the LGEA included “counselling” or “advising” a teacher [METROPOLIS, BAOBAB]; giving a verbal or written warning [KANTI, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]; transferring the teacher [KANTI, DOMINGO]; deducting some of the teacher’s salary [KANTI, KILFI]; or the ES coming to the school to “solve the matter” [DOMINGO]. In the case of three teachers accused of rape, the matter was reported to the Board, who upon finding the teachers guilty, dismissed them from service [METROPOLIS]. One Board member said that teachers absent for four weeks are often dismissed and that one LGEA had dismissed 27 teachers, largely on account of absenteeism.

School inspection in Nigeria occurs at national, state and LGEA level. In the case study schools, LGEA officials, and school supervisors in particular, were said to visit schools regularly to check registers, schemes of work, lesson plans and to ensure that teachers are in class teaching [DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA] though it was not clear what happens if the situation is not satisfactory. In the case study schools, school management was said to check that teachers are in class and teaching and/or were observed doing so [KILFI]. In one school, teachers were seen signing an attendance register in the head teacher’s office [KANTI], though, in another school, teachers noted that some of their peers falsified their arrival time in the register [KILFI]. In one school SBMC and/or PTA members appeared to have an unofficial disciplinary role, in that on school visits they would make teachers who were sitting around outside go to class [KANTI] and PTA members reportedly checked the register [KILFI]. There was a call in a couple of schools by

parents and/or community members for closer monitoring and stricter disciplining of teachers [DOMINGO, KILFI]. A report of improved teacher discipline since the arrival of the new head teacher in one school would seem to underline the importance of having a good head teacher in order to ensure teacher discipline [KANTI].

6.8 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY AND OUTCOMES)

There were fewer qualified female teachers in Adamawa State as a whole, with substantial differences between male and female teachers in some LGEAs, and a vast gender disparity in the numbers of head teachers. This raises questions about gender equity in access to teacher education and in the appointment and promotion process. In addition, greater participation by female teachers was perceived to have a positive effect on girls' participation in schooling.

Fewer qualified teachers and fewer female teachers were found in the rural case study schools, though only one of the case study schools actually expressed satisfaction with the number of qualified teachers. The disparity in staffing between urban and rural schools also raises questions about the fairness of teacher appointments and transfer, and indicates that pupils in rural schools in particular are being disadvantaged, although initiatives are being tried to address this inequality, such as offering incentives to teachers who work in rural areas, or appointing teachers to their home community where possible.

Political interference was reported regarding appointments and promotion at school- and LGEA-level. This was found to impact negatively on staff morale, trust, and working relations. It will also affect educational quality when appointees lack the requisite expertise to carry out their job (e.g. teach, manage teachers or give educational supervision and support).

There has been an increase in the number of qualified teachers in the state. However, there is some recognition by ADSUBEB that possession of a qualification is not in itself a guarantee of teaching competence and that in order to improve the quality of education the current teacher education system needs major revision. Suggested changes included involving more practical, school-based professional development, diagnostic activities, and bringing in outside expertise.

There was some evidence that although staff responsibilities within school were said to be allocated on merit, there was some gender-stereotyping; for example men were generally appointed to be in charge of discipline and labour, and women were appointed to be in charge of health. Head teachers need to ensure equitable appointments that avoid stereotyping. The link to career progression might also strengthen teacher effort and active participation in the school and with pupils.

Teachers were overwhelmingly dissatisfied with their pay and conditions of service, in particular low pay, delayed payments, lack of duty allowances (e.g. for head teachers) and opportunities for promotion, which clearly affected teacher morale, commitment and professionalism, which in turn adversely affected educational quality (e.g. through teacher absenteeism). In one LGEA low pay reportedly affected the retention of male teachers. Suggestions for addressing the issue included duty allowances, an improved pay structure, including more possibilities for promotion, and removal of the Level 14 salary cap to stem the "brain drain" of good primary teachers to secondary level.

Poor classroom conditions were also said to affect teachers' morale and their ability to teach effectively, specifically lack of teaching materials, and dilapidated and overcrowded classrooms. In the first two cases it was acknowledged that ADSUBEB had improved textbook provision and infrastructure in some schools, though conditions varied among the case study schools.

Although EMIS data for pupil–teacher ratios suggest primary class sizes in Adamawa State are in line with the nationally recommended class size of 35:1, evidence on the ground suggested severe overcrowding in some cases; this may have been due to classes doubling up on account of absent teachers and/or lack of classroom space, and/or to inaccurate EMIS data. This needs to be explored further as overcrowded classes adversely affected educational quality and the range of pedagogical strategies that could be used, which, in turn, were reported to impact on pupil retention.

Teacher support at the LGEA level was widely reported across the case study schools in terms of regular visits by SSs, who checked registers, lesson notes and ensured teachers were teaching; while this is important, SSs need to be able to assist more with providing professional development (in terms of subject content, pedagogy etc.) to teachers. This might include drawing head teachers into school-based professional development activities.

In-service training courses and workshops to upgrade qualifications and provide professional development on specific issues were widely reported, though more were requested and there was some recognition by Board members that workshops alone are not sufficient to change classroom practice. The quality of the workshops was not mentioned although this and pre-service teacher education might benefit from monitoring and evaluation as a means to ensure quality improvements and relevance to the teachers. The potential role of the head teacher in teacher leadership, support and management was not mentioned even though some LGEA officials called for a head teacher's duty allowance associated with management and administrative training and duties in school.

Lack of professionalism by some teachers was a pressing issue across the case study schools and LGEAs, to varying degrees. Issues of particular concern were teacher absenteeism, excessive use of corporal punishment, non-adherence to the syllabus and/or skipping topics on the syllabus. All these practices had a severely detrimental effect on educational quality and on pupil enrolment, punctuality, attendance, retention and performance (see also Chapters 7 & 8). It should be highlighted that the Board has already begun to address the root-causes (low teacher morale, difficult teaching conditions, inadequate professional training) through pay increases and incentives and improvements in classroom conditions for some schools. Teacher support by head teachers regarding pedagogy, subject content, assessment etc. was generally absent even though it is essential to school quality improvements.

Teacher accountability, which is critical to ensuring educational quality, went upwards through the head teacher, to the LGEA via the school supervisor and/or the ES, then to ADSUBEB, in the case of serious infractions. However, while the data across the case studies showed teacher disciplinary procedures to be similar in broad terms, the degree of enforcement differed among schools and LGEAs. Communities could play an important role here and they may need to be encouraged to demand greater accountability from schools and teachers, to help improve teacher professionalism.

Senior ADSUBEB members mentioned the need to tackle sexual harassment of female pupils and the strong line the Board has shown in dismissing three male teachers for rape sends a strong signal that the Board is serious about addressing this aspect of gender equality. However, the fact that in all the case study data, only one LGEA officer made mention of the matter indicates a need to open out debate on the issue within schools and communities and create safe spaces and precise procedures within schools that ensures such incidents are reported and then acted upon. This is important for improving both educational quality and gender equality in school.

CHAPTER 7 PUPIL MANAGEMENT

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter uses the case study data to examine various aspects of pupil management within the school, including pupil–pupil relations, but it excludes much of what happens in the classroom, which is covered in Chapter 8 on Teaching and Learning. The chapter begins with consideration of school requirements for pupils to attend school in the first place, such as school fees and PTA levies, school uniform and writing materials (exercise book and pen or pencil). The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) shows that school costs are the main cause of dropout and late enrolment of primary school pupils in the North East, affecting 30.9% and 29.7% of households, respectively, and the third most common reason for non-enrolment of pupils who have never been to school, affecting 35.5% of households. In addition, non-provision of the requisite uniform or materials can also result in a child's exclusion or punishment and absenteeism (Flett *et al.*, 2005, cited in Theobald *et al.*, 2007; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). The chapter then describes gender-specific school routines, such as assembly and pupil duties, which are central to giving strong messages about appropriate behaviour and expectations for girls and boys, thereby reinforcing gender stereotypes and gender inequalities (Bakari, 2011). These often play out in pupils' peer relations in school, which are considered next. Several studies in Nigeria have indicated that violence (both physical and psychological) is widespread in schools (Egbochuku, 2007; FME, 2007b; Adefunke, 2010), including sexual harassment and sexual violence by both male teachers and pupils (Para-Mallam, 2010; Bakari, 2011; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011) though it is often underreported and/or not acknowledged by teachers (FME, 2007b; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). The FME survey also noted that around 6% of respondents admitted missing school because of violence – girls slightly more than boys.

Next is a section on school discipline, including the prefect and monitor system, focusing on corporal punishment in particular, which has been shown to impact negatively on pupils' participation in class and can result in absenteeism and dropout (Flett *et al.*, 2005, cited in Theobald *et al.*, 2007; FME, 2007b; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). Finally, the ways in which teachers are involved in the management of pupils (outside the classroom) are discussed before the chapter concludes by summarising the implications of the various aspects of pupil management and pupil peer relations in relation to school access.

In acknowledgement of some of the above-mentioned issues, ADSUBEB has abolished school fees within the state and put a cap on PTA levies at ₦50 per term. At the start of this research project, the Board was also providing school uniforms for Primary 1 girls to encourage enrolment; towards the end of the project this policy was being expanded to include school uniform provision for primary girls and boys in all years, starting with Primary 1. Regarding corporal punishment, in the last few years ADSUBEB officials have consistently been emphasising to LGEA officials and head teachers that corporal punishment must not be used in schools [ADSUBEB members].

7.2 SCHOOL REQUIREMENTS

In order to attend school, pupils needed to wear school uniform, bring writing materials and pay set fees, which invariably included the termly PTA levy and sometimes other fees, which varied across the case study schools. The degree to which the various schools enforced these requirements also varied, as did their responses to non-compliance.

7.2.1 Fees

Although basic education is supposed to be free for all children in Nigeria, school fees and PTA levies are commonplace across the country (Sunal *et al.*, 2003; Flett *et al.*, 2005, cited in Theobald *et al.*, 2007; Lincove, 2009; NPC and RTI International, 2011). The same was true for the case study schools.

Both the amount charged for fees and the types of fees charged varied across the case study schools. As Table 7.1 shows, one school charged admission or readmission fees while another charged exam fees. In addition, all schools charged PTA levies of ₦50 per term in accordance with the ADSUBEB-recommended maximum charge. In some schools the PTA also asks for one-off contributions for particular development projects, such as building classrooms or repairing furniture, and in one school parents and other community members were collectively paying ₦500 to ₦1000 a month to pay for three retired school teachers to teach part-time, to make up for the shortfall of teachers in the school [DOYA]. However, it should be noted that some respondents in schools reported higher figures or additional fees to the ones officially quoted below. In a couple of cases the school said that these fees had been abandoned at the Board's insistence.

Table 7.1 Fees charged by the case study schools

	Kanti	Domingo	Metro	Kilfi	Doya	Baobab
Admission/ readmission fee	N/A	₦200	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
PTA levy	₦50 per term	₦50 per term	₦50	₦50 per term	₦50 per term	₦50 per term
Exam fee	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	₦50 school leaving certificate	N/A
Other expenses	₦200 one- off payment for self-help projects	₦300 one- off payment for self-help projects	N/A	N/A	N/A	Ad hoc development payments

The inability of some parents/guardians to pay school fees and/or PTA levies was said to have an adverse effect on enrolment, attendance and dropout in three of the six schools [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI]. In the other three schools, it was nevertheless implied in the fact that some children were reportedly unable to enrol in school and/or were forced to drop out due to the need to work. Although one LGEA official [C1] maintained that non-payment of the PTA levy is no longer an access issue, female pupils in the case study school called on government to pay the PTA levies. Some pupils reportedly have to work to pay their own school costs [KANTI, DOYA], echoing findings in other studies (FOS/ILO, 2001; Omokhodan, Omokhodan and Odusote, 2006; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011).

In line with findings from other research (e.g. Flett *et al.*, 2005, cited in Theobald *et al.*, 2007; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011), inability to pay fees or levies could also result in exclusion from school or punishment. In one school pupils were observed being publicly flogged in assembly for non-payment of the PTA levy [BAOBAB]. A staff member in another school reported that the PTA had previously fined parents for not paying the levy but had abandoned the practice because they thought it would reflect badly on the LGA [METROPOLIS].

7.2.2 Uniform

Lincove's (2009) national study of determinants of schooling found school uniform to be one of the main school expenses for many parents. In this study it proved to be a barrier to children accessing schools in five out of the six schools [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. Even in the sixth school, pupils and LGEA officials were requesting free uniforms to be provided by government, possibly implying that parents' ability to afford school uniform, nevertheless, was an issue. In addition, in four schools there were reports of pupils being excluded and/or punished for not having a uniform, for missing some part of the uniform such as shoes, for having a torn or dirty uniform, or for wearing it incorrectly, such as with the trousers hanging off the hips ("swagger ass down") [KANTI, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. In one school, pupils were observed being caned in assembly for poor appearance [BAOBAB] as inspection of school uniform and general appearance was carried out during assembly [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA]. The head teacher of one school that reportedly allows pupils to attend without wearing uniform recounted a case in which a parent had complained to him that their child had, nevertheless, been excluded from school by a teacher for wearing a "shabby" uniform [KANTI]. One school had "social prefects", whose main responsibility was to monitor pupils' dress [DOYA].

For one school in particular the issue of school uniform was a major source of conflict between the school and community [KILFI], according to PTA members and parents – both those interviewed formally and those encountered informally. One community member said the issue had still not been resolved because the PTA was still reportedly insisting that school rules demand that all pupils should wear uniform. As one parent explained: "In another school, it was pointed out that because the children sit on the floor for lessons their uniforms get dirty fast and most parents are too poor to buy detergent every day [DOYA]. Teachers in the same school also confirmed that pupils, and girls in particular, often tease each other for wearing torn, patched or dirty uniforms, or for not taking a bath:

Sometimes some pupils with new uniforms come to class and show off by teasing those with dirty uniforms; sometimes they laugh at those without good uniforms. (male teacher, DOYA)

On research visits, almost all pupils in the case study schools were seen wearing a uniform although this is possibly because those not in uniform had been excluded from the school or were absent for fear of being punished and/or teased by peers.

While acknowledging the contributions of the Board in providing girls in Primary 1 with free uniforms, LGEA, school and community respondents in four case studies called for free uniforms to be provided by government to help further improve enrolment and/or retention [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA] although in one school parents felt it was their responsibility to provide uniforms [DOMINGO]. In one school the more affluent community members sometimes donated uniforms to the school [KANTI] whereas in another school Primary 1 pupils did not have to wear a uniform [DOYA].

My name is Gambo Umar. I am 10 years old. We are four in my house that are not in school one of them is older than me. We all want to enter school. I am saving money to enrol in school. I fetch water for people and they pay me to enable me enter school. I have saved five hundred Naira so far. I want to buy uniform, sandals and socks to enable me enter school. I want government to provide uniform, sandal and socks for me so I can enter school. My mother will buy books for me. But for the head teacher, I don't know what he will do for me because he said if he gets money he will enrol us in school. (out-of-school boy, LGEA C2)

7.2.3 Writing materials

Pupils in all schools had to supply writing materials. Some parents/guardians in several schools also provided their own textbooks for children [METRO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB] and parents/guardians in several schools were also urged to buy textbooks [METRO, BAOBAB].

In Lincove's (2009) study, books and materials generally constituted families' main educational expense. In all six case study schools, and sometimes more widely in the LGEA, respondents reported that some parents/guardians were too poor to afford the writing materials and that this expense prevented some children from attending or staying in school. Given that pupils were reportedly punished and/or sent home for not having writing materials in some schools [BAOBAB], it is likely that some pupils avoided punishment by not coming to school until they had procured the necessary stationery, which in some cases may have meant earning sufficient money themselves to buy them. Unterhalter and Heslop's (2011) study in Nigeria and Tanzania noted how girls felt shame at being pointed at or beaten for not paying charges, or having the right equipment. They would then miss school or come late in order to avoid humiliation; or go and earn enough money to make the payments. In the two rural case study schools, there were reports of pupils without books stealing either from other pupils [DOYA] or breaking into the school office [KANTI]. It is likely that some other cases of theft, which was widely reported in all schools, also related to writing materials or textbooks.

In one school, where the Primary 1 class was held under shade, no books or pens (or uniform) were required so that even very poor pupils could attend school [DOYA].

7.3 THE SCHOOL DAY

7.3.1 Timetable

Timetables varied across the case study schools, and were particularly dependent on whether the school operated a double shift. One school shared its premises with the JSS [DOMINGO], and another split the primary classes over two shifts [BAOBAB].

Table 7.2 School timetables and pupil duties in the case study schools

Timetable	Kanti	Domingo	Metro	Kilfi	Doya	Baobab
Assembly days	Mon, Wed, Fri	Mon, Thurs	Mon, Wed, Fri	Mon, Wed, Fri	Daily	Mon, Wed, Fri
Assembly times	7–7.30am	Mon 7.45–8.15 Thur 7.15–7.30/45	7.50–8am	7.30–8am	7.30/45–8/8.15 am	7.30–8am
Lessons begin	7.30am	8.45	8am	8am	8/8.15am	8am/noon
Lessons end	1.30pm	Noon	12.30 or 1.05pm	Noon (P1–3) 12.30 (P4–6)	1.05pm	Noon/4pm
Main breaks	1 hr + 2 x 5 mins	9.15–9.55	10–10.30 Noon–12.05	9.30–10 10.30–10.50	10–10.30	9.30–10
Length of teaching time (daily)	4hr 50min	2hr 35min	3hr 55min/ 4hr 30min	3hr 10min/ 3hr 40min	4hr 20 min/ 4hr 35min	3hr 30min
Cleaning*	Daily pre-class /assembly	Daily litter picking 8/8.15–8.45	Daily pre-class /assembly	Daily pre-class /assembly	Daily 6.30am	Daily 6.30am
Labour day /general cleaning	Fri	Mon 7.15–7.45	Thur 8–9am every 2 weeks	Thur 7.30–9.30	Fri 8–10am	Fri 7.30–9.30

Other duties	i. School farm – Fri on rota in rainy season; ii fetch sand and water	Arranging stones once per week	N/A	N/A	N/A	Watering plants
---------------------	---	--------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----------------

* Classroom and compound

As Table 7.2 shows, lessons were generally timetabled to begin at 8am and end from noon up to 1.30pm though the length of the school day and the amount of timetabled lesson time per day (excluding assembly, cleaning and break time) varied enormously from only 2hr 35min in class at one extreme to 4hr 50mins at the other. For general cleaning, or on labour day (see below), even less time was scheduled to be spent in class. The main break time ranged from 30 minutes to one hour and two schools had additional, shorter breaks.

In practice, however, the school day sometimes started late, or even not at all because of bad weather (e.g. Harmattan, rain, cold), which delayed pupils, or meant they were unable to reach school [KANTI, KILFI, DOYA]. One school supervisor had reportedly urged school heads to adjust their school timetable during the Harmattan (November/December) since the skies remain dark and children wake up later, though no evidence was given as to whether any had complied with this in a systematic way [KANTI]. The school day also started late sometimes because pupils were late for other reasons, such as attending Qur'anic school [METRO].

Duty teachers and or male time-keeping prefects were in charge of ringing the school bell to signal the start of school. However, the bell did not always sound on time (or at all) in the schools visited; nor was the timetable always followed.

7.3.2. Registers and attendance

Registers are supposed to be taken twice a day, once at the start of school, and once just before school finishes. However, according to one Board member, the second register is often forgotten and some pupils who arrive late are often marked absent.

Data were requested from the case study schools on the number of pupil absences for each term over a three-year period (2007–8 to 2010–11) for each grade and according to gender and religion. In all the schools the figures clearly represented considerable underestimations. The annual totals were averaged out in relation to the number of pupils enrolled for each year, which across the schools scarcely averaged out at more than one day absent per pupil per year. However, the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) relates that primary school pupils reported being absent, on average, for 5.5 days the previous month, which amounts to around 25% of the time pupils should be in school. The qualitative data across the case study schools and LGEAs similarly point to far greater levels of pupil absenteeism. In addition, the attendance data provided by the schools did not show any seasonal variation despite widespread reports that pupil absenteeism was much higher during the rainy season on account of pupils working in the fields to plant and harvest crops and/or because they were unable to get to school and/or because lessons could not be held.

It may be, however, that the registers themselves did not have accurate records of pupil absences⁹, However, registers are supposedly countersigned by the head teacher [DOMINGO] – and were reportedly on public display in one school at the request of the PTA [KILFI] – and

⁹ An alternative explanation or contributory factor may be that extracting the data to give to the research team was too time-consuming and/or the task was not clear to the school.

checked by school supervisors as part of their monitoring [KILFI], which raises the question of exactly what they are checking and how they verify the accuracy of the records. Moreover, the high levels of teacher latecoming and absenteeism reported across the case study schools and the LGEAs more generally also begs the question of whether a register is taken at all if the teacher is absent.

The qualitative data findings overwhelmingly indicate high levels of pupil latecoming across the case studies. Late coming was generally due to pupils variously having to complete home chores (especially girls), work on the farm, look after cattle (boys), or run errands, and, for many Muslim pupils, attend Qur'anic school (see Chapter 9). Additionally, some pupils arrived late because of the distance to school [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO] (see Chapter 5).

All schools suffered from high levels of pupil absenteeism. Schools which included more rural populations reported higher levels of pupil absenteeism, with some missing a whole term, in the rainy season, when pupils are needed to help plant or harvest crops, or when pupils in rural areas are unable to get to school [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. Many boys, especially older boys, missed school to learn an apprenticeship [DOMINGO METRO, BAOBAB] or to go trading, with rates of absenteeism said to be higher on market days [KANTI, DOMINGO, BAOBAB]. Several schools said pupil numbers drop off after break when pupils go off in search of food and/or water and some do not return [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA, BAOBAB,]. In all schools some pupils often missed occasional days due to ill health. Truancy among (some) boys was cited as an issue in all schools, with many boys reportedly preferring to roam the streets or idle about. Chapter 9 gives further details on all the above. Teacher latecoming or absenteeism also impacted on pupil latecoming and attendance [DOMINGO, METRO]. In all schools, it was suggested that in-school factors such as corporal punishment, bullying and teasing, which are discussed below, caused some pupils to miss school.

7.3.3 Assembly

As shown in Table 7.2, assemblies were generally timetabled to be held two or three times a week. At least once a week in assembly pupils' uniforms and general appearance was inspected [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB]. Assemblies were conducted variously by the head teacher or by duty teachers with prefects often assisting. Pupils were generally arranged in classes with boys and girls lined up separately by class often with older, larger pupils at the back.

Where there was a functioning flagpole the flag was raised by one (or more) of the male prefects, the national anthem was sung and the national pledge given. Islamic and/or Christian prayers were held, depending on the school intake. In the two schools where assemblies were witnessed, Islamic prayers were said first [DOMINGO, BAOBAB].

One school reported that the school supervisor sometimes addressed pupils in assemblies about behaviour [BAOBAB]. Sometimes pupils were publicly flogged, particularly for what are deemed to be "serious offences." This was observed and/or reported in several schools, for example for not paying PTA levies [BAOBAB], for insulting teachers, for theft [KANTI, DOYA], or for bullying [DOMINGO]. More positively, pupils were also observed being applauded in assembly for their house coming first in school cleaning [DOMINGO]. In practice, assemblies, like lessons, could start late or be cancelled, due to bad weather, for example.

7.3.4 Pupil duties

Pupils were usually expected to be in school before assembly or lessons, sometimes as early as 6.30am, to undertake duties, generally associated with cleaning (see Table 7.2). In one school some Muslim pupils reportedly came as early as 5.30am to complete their cleaning duties before

attending Qur'anic school and then returning to the public school [BAOBAB]. In almost all the schools the classrooms and the compound area immediately around the classrooms were cleaned on a daily basis, usually supervised by monitors, prefects and/or duty teachers. In the remaining school, cleaning, which consisted of picking up litter across the compound, occurred after assembly [DOMINGO]. Duties were frequently gender specific, as in Bakari's (2011) JSS study (see also Dunne *et al.*, 2005, in Ghana and Botswana). Generally, girls swept the inside of the classrooms while boys lifted the furniture, in the apparent belief, to use the words of one male labour prefect, that "boys are stronger" [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI]. Other ad hoc tasks or duties that pupils were asked to do, and which were sometimes given as punishment, included arranging stones [DOMINGO]; fetching sand and water for construction [KANTI]; fetching drinking water and cleaning toilets, which were generally tasks given to girls [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI].

Both girls and boys in one school complained that too much time was spent sweeping in the school [DOYA], and in two schools girls were particularly resentful of the fact that boys did not have to sweep the classrooms [DOMINGO, KILFI]. In the most extreme case, girls reportedly had to sweep the classrooms and compound, pick up litter, fill the water bottles for the staffroom and clean the nursery rooms at break whereas boys only had to weed the compound with a hoe [KILFI]. Thus, girls frequently did more of the chores at school, as at home (see Chapter 9).

A "general cleaning" or "labour day" was timetabled for at least two hours a week in all schools and in the rural school which also possessed a school farm pupils from Primary 3 and above were also sent to work on the farm on a rota basis [KANTI]. Outside one primary school at the beginning of term, a group of male JSS students was seen chatting as a group of female students headed off to school; when asked why they were not going there too, they declared that the entire first week of term was spent cleaning the school, which they wanted to avoid; they said they would go to school once lessons began. One ADSUBEB member said that the Board was making efforts to stop labour day.

7.3.5 Pupil-pupil relations

At break in all six case study schools, pupils were generally observed socialising in gender-segregated and age-related groups although younger boys and girls were seen interacting more freely in one school [DOYA]. Interestingly, in another school [METRO] one group of female pupils thought girls and boys mixed and played well together whereas two groups of boys within the same school made gender-stereotyped, disparaging remarks about girls to explain gender-segregated play, for example: "Boys play alone because girls are not strong."

During break in all six schools, boys and girls often bought food from vendors in the school, usually sharing it in same-gender groups. Girls were seen chatting, singing, clapping and playing catch-and-throw games. Boys were observed engaged in a greater range of activities, often more physically active: playing football, wrestling, riding bikes, playing round the embers of a fire and making crafts. In one school, a ball purchased with school funds was given alternately to girls and to boys to play with [KANTI]. In a school with slides and swings for pre-school pupils, both girls and boys were seen playing, supervised by a female teacher [KILFI].

However, pupils in all schools complained of "teasing", bullying and fighting and what in one case was termed "rough play" [METRO]. It is difficult to know exactly what was meant by each of these overlapping terms, especially bullying and teasing. Indeed in one school, teachers and girls interviewed accused (some) boys of bullying girls, whereas the boys interviewed maintained: "We tease; we don't bully." [DOYA]. Whatever the terminology, several groups of pupils identified such behaviours as what they most disliked about the school [DOMINGO,

METRO]¹⁰, and they were also identified as resulting in reduced classroom participation [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO – see also Chapter 8] and, occasionally, absenteeism [BAOBAB, DOMINGO].

In general, across the schools both teachers and pupils agreed that more boys were involved in bullying girls and/or younger boys [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI BAOBAB,]. That said, there were reports too of (some) girls fighting, insulting other pupils and being aggressive [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO]; one girl was seen slapping a boy in the face in one school [KILFI], and girls were seen pushing and shoving each other on the way back to class from assembly [DOMINGO]. More commonly, girls, as often as boys, were accused of “teasing” and making fun of other pupils, especially in class (see below).

Bigger, overage boys in particular were singled out as being particularly associated with bullying and harassing younger boys and girls [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB – and LGEA S2s]. In one or two cases (some) overage girls were also identified as bullies [METRO]. At the same time overage pupils were also identified as potential victims of bullying because they were often teased on account of their age, especially if they were not doing well academically [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI]. Overage pupils were reportedly ridiculed, insulted and called names such as “big for nothing”, which were said to result in feelings of anger and isolation, non-participation in class, absenteeism and/or eventual dropout [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI] (see also Chapter 8).

Other pupils identified as being prone to bullying/teasing included long-term absentees, such as pupils who miss a whole term from school, who are laughed at, insulted or shunned by their friends on their return [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI]. Some pupils were said to shun returnees in this way because they believed that “most of them cheat” to pass exams [KILFI]. In contrast, some pupils reported trying to encourage those that miss school to attend more regularly [METRO, KILFI].

Specific bullying and violent behaviours observed and/or mentioned by school respondents included stealing, beating, poking, slapping or punching someone, throwing stones, laughing at or insulting someone, rubbing a sneezing substance in another pupil’s eyes, or slicing someone with a razor blade. In all schools pupils said that teachers and/or prefects usually intervened in cases of bullying/fighting (see below), though some instances were observed when there was little or no intervention [DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB].

Classroom observations and teacher interviews often suggested that pupils generally got on well together in class [KANTI, METRO, KILFI, DOYA] and a number of classes were observed which included amicable cross-gender interactions [KANTI, KILFI, DOYA]. Even so, interactions were more generally observed within gender categories, for example girls borrowing pens and pencils from other girls, and boys from boys, even when seating was mixed (See Chapter 8). There was some suggestion too that older Muslim girls and boys in particular found it more difficult to interact with each other in class, which was explained in terms of religious culture [DOMINGO, METRO, BAOBAB].

However, pupil interviews in all six schools suggested that pupil–pupil relations could be difficult. Much depended on whether the teacher was in the classroom, and when there, whether they could control and hold the interest of the class. In one school during the exam period, several of the lower primary classes were without a teacher, and in two classes some boys were seen

¹⁰ From some of the interview data, it was unclear whether comments related to interaction in the classroom or in the compound, or even outside school, and whether the interaction occurred at break or before or after class.

beating girls and the female and male monitors were also seen beating their peers. In a lesson observation in the same school, where the teacher was present but did not have control of the class, the researcher witnessed physical and verbal violence. This included older, bigger boys calling names, punching and stealing stationery from other boys and girls [DOMINGO].

Even though physical and verbal violence between or among pupils was not always directly observed, pupil and/or teacher interviews in all six schools reported its occurrence in class though its prevalence seemed to vary across and within schools. In addition, it was not always clear from pupil accounts whether the teacher was in the classroom at the time. Girls in particular complained about being teased and verbally and physically bullied by some boys [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA, BAOBAB]; one group of girls talked about being poked, prodded and touched [DOYA]. Male pupils interviewed also said that some boys fight among themselves in class, which observations confirmed [DOMINGO, BAOBAB]. The aggressive male behaviour exhibited by some boys towards girls in particular was explained in terms of boys trying to assert their presumed superiority, of which assertion of physical superiority formed an integral part:

Boys are more stubborn. They always want to show off that they are boys. (teacher, DOMINGO)

Boys do not want to be disrespected. (male pupil, KILFI)

Boys are likely to tease girls more because they are boys and feel superior. (teacher, BAOBAB)

There is bullying; pupils fight, misbehave and some are jealous because you are more hardworking than them so they try to beat you [up]. The senior boys are fond of bullying the younger girls. (female pupil, METRO)

However, boys too complained about being teased by girls [DOMINGO, DOYA], especially for not doing better than girls academically [DOYA]. Some boys, in turn explained that they preferred to sit apart from girls claiming that girls cheated and copied off them [METRO, BAOBAB].

For fear of harassment, bullying and teasing, girls therefore often expressed a preference for keeping away from boys in class [KANTI, BAOBAB] and in one school harassment was thought to be a cause of dropout among some girls [BAOBAB], which one of the Board members confirmed was common:

The boys bully her today; she goes home crying. Tomorrow they do the same thing; there's another time, and definitely the parents will withdraw her from school. So bullying in school also discourages children from school.

However, teachers were either unaware or unwilling to acknowledge underlying gender antagonism between many girls and boys, more often interpreting girls' unwillingness to mix with boys as due to innate "shyness", or on account of religion or culture [METRO, BAOBAB].

In the classroom, the situation was similar since in all six schools it was either reported or observed that both girls and boys "teased" other pupils in class. One of the main sources of teasing related to boys and girls being seated next to each other, which only occurred when teachers insisted (see Chapter 8). This often resulted in pupils being teased that they were married, which a number of female pupils said they disliked [KANTI, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. However, boys in one school were adamant that girls were just as guilty as boys of this: "We are teased husband and wife and girls fight back." [DOYA]. The second main source of teasing in class concerned pupils who were not able to answer a question in class, or did badly in tests, which could result in feelings of shame, non-participation or even absenteeism or dropout [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB] (See Chapter 8). However, as one Board member pointed out, the teasing does not necessarily stop in the school especially as regards test results. Since pupils are ranked from first to last position in each class on the basis of exam results, those in the bottom three positions are often given hurtful nicknames such as "dummyhead" and are teased outside school.

7.4 DISCIPLINE

In this section we consider school discipline in broad terms but will outline the findings in relation to corporal punishment first since it was the most contentious aspect of school discipline. Although the term corporal punishment is sometimes used to include various forms of physical punishment, such as frog-jumping, we use the term here in the narrower more traditional sense of caning or beating with a similar instrument, though other forms of physical punishment are also discussed. Then we examine alternatives to corporal punishment that were being practised in the schools, before considering the prefect systems.

7.4.1 Policy and practice

The recently published *Professional Standards for Nigerian Teachers* (FME, 2011) state that “teachers do NOT [original emphasis] under any circumstance administer corporal punishment on learners” (p.39). However, even prior to these new professional standards, the Executive Chair of ADSUBEB had reportedly made it clear in the media and to all LGEAs that in Adamawa State corporal punishment should not be practised. This was also confirmed in all interviews with LGEA officials, although one claimed corporal punishment could be applied in “exceptional circumstances”. Even so one LGEA official admitted that excessive beating of pupils, especially by male teachers, was a problem across the LGEA [METRO, LGEA S2]. Given the numerous reports of excessive corporal punishment in school in other studies in Nigeria (Chianu, 2000; Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Adegbehingbe and Kayode, 2007; Sherry, 2008; Mahmoud, Abdulkabir and Salman, 2011), the problem is likely to be more widespread across the other LGEAs.

At the school level the picture was very different with mixed messages being given by the head teachers in some schools and by many of the staff, as exemplified in the following interview extract:

Head teacher: The school policy on discipline says the child who misbehaves or steals or fights for instance, must be investigated before he [sic.] is disciplined. If a child steals we do cane him sometimes. We don't allow male teachers to discipline girls but it depends on the offence committed. If it requires caning, we don't allow male teachers to cane girls; we ask female teachers to cane girls.

Researcher: Do you have school policy on discipline?

Head teacher: Yes, normally, well, corporal punishment, we do it before but now we don't give it. We substitute it with simple, simple discipline like asking the child to kneel down, fetch water to water flowers, trees, go round the classes and another by caning them. [LGEA N1]

As the above quote illustrates, at the same time as stating that corporal punishment is no longer allowed, some head teachers and/or teachers would explain its preferred practice, which was usually that: it should preferably be administered by a senior member of staff, usually by the head teacher, or a deputy or discipline teacher; it should be recorded in the punishment book; and it should be gender-differentiated, with girls being caned lightly on the hand or back of the legs, and boys caned more harshly on the back or the buttocks. Where possible female teachers were to discipline female pupils, male teachers were to discipline male pupils.

Yet, whatever the intended discipline policy of the school, head teachers admitted that it was not always followed by teachers [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO] and some teachers openly stated that they were in favour of being able to apply corporal punishment themselves [DOMINGO, METRO]. Two Christian teachers in different schools called on phrases from the Bible to justify its practice. In two urban schools, management seemed to be trying to move away from corporal punishment and replace it with manual labour [METRO, KILFI], which was often gender-specific. Individual teachers in other schools were similarly broadening the range of disciplinary sanctions. For example, boys would weed the compound or dig a trench to dispose of litter while girls were

made to clean the toilets though in some schools both girls and boys were given these tasks. In another, ironically a whole day of labour on the school farm was the punishment for poor attendance or long-term absenteeism [KANTI].

In practice, however, (some) teachers, prefects and monitors in all six schools practised gender-differentiated corporal punishment to varying degrees. In all schools one or more teachers and/or prefects were seen wandering round school during lessons or at break, carrying a cane or a stick. In all schools, late coming, absenteeism, bullying, fighting, insulting teachers and stealing could result in corporal punishment even if the school policy, in the words of one head teacher, was one of “verbal corrective discipline.” Additionally, in one or more cases, inadequate or incomplete school uniform, lack of writing materials, non-payment of PTA levy, answering incorrectly or in a local language in class, to give just a few examples, could also result in being beaten.

The national study on teacher motivation (Sherry 2008) concluded that use of corporal punishment has been increasing as teachers become increasingly frustrated and struggle to cope with difficult working conditions such as overcrowded classes of pupils of different ages, who can be similarly unmotivated and unruly due to unfavourable learning conditions, which include absent teachers, unplanned lessons, and inappropriate teaching methods and classroom processes (see also Chapter 8). One Board member felt that teachers often “lack the technical capacity to manage.”

Although canes were generally used to beat children, use of fan belts, cables and sticks was also reported by pupils [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA]. There was a suggestion by a few pupil groups that (some) male teachers gave harsher punishment and/or flogged more [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]; this may partly have been because male teachers were supposed to cane boys and the expected gender-differentiated punishment was said to be harsher [METRO, DOYA]. In one school female teachers reportedly tend to send pupils to the (male) discipline teacher for punishment [KILFI].

Other forms of physical and often humiliating punishments included being made to run round the classroom, carrying a heavy stone, or frog-jumping. Inside the classroom in particular, pupils were made to kneel down for a length of time, sometimes with their arms outstretched (“machine-riding”), or maintain an awkward balancing position, known as the cockroach [DOMINGO, METRO, BAOBAB] (see also Chapter 9). For offences that were deemed serious and/or for “persistent offenders”, parents were sometimes called to the school, sometimes to witness their child being beaten [KANTI, BAOBAB, LGEAs N1, S2].

Across the schools, corporal punishment was shown to impact negatively on pupils’ schooling. Reported and observed negative effects included: emotional distress; fear and loss of concentration and/or non-participation in class; truancy to avoid punishment; dropout and non-enrolment; or withdrawal from school [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. The following quotes from pupils illustrate the point:

- Flogging makes pupils cry, [be] angry and annoyed. (female pupil, KANTI)
- Flogging put my mind off school. (male pupil, KANTI)
- Beating makes us not to concentrate in class (male pupil, DOMINGO).
- I check my younger ones (brother and sister), who normally come late and hide behind classes.
- They don’t enter class because they fear beatings in the school. (JSS male student, DOMINGO)
- We have classmates that left school because they were flogged. (female pupil, KILFI)
- Some disliked and dropped out of school because of flogging. (female pupil, KILFI)
- I feel bad and don’t participate in class for the rest of the day. (female pupil, METRO)

Although a small minority of pupils across the schools thought corporal punishment could rectify bad behaviour in some circumstances [DOMINGO, METRO], the vast majority were against its use, especially as a punishment for latecoming. Moreover, many pupils, and girls in particular, defined a good teacher as one who did not beat and/or was kind to pupils [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. Girls have been shown to be particularly affected by the shame associated with being beaten or being singled out, causing them to come late or miss school to avoid the humiliation (Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011).

Parental views on corporal punishment, or its application within the school, were also mixed, with some reportedly transferring their children from the school on account of excessive beating [DOMINGO], or going into school to confront teachers about the way they disciplined their child [DOMINGO, DOYA]. Conversely, some brought their child to school specifically to be beaten [KANTI, DOMINGO, BAOBAB, KILFI]. In one school where a high level of beating was both reported and observed, corporal punishment was a major source of friction between parents and teachers [DOMINGO] (also see Chapter 9), echoing findings in the VSO national study on teachers (Sherry, 2008).

At the same time, it should be pointed out that not all disciplinary sanctions involved corporal punishment or manual labour; in all schools examples were given (though generally by teachers) of cases when pupils are given verbal warnings or are sent to the counselling or discipline teacher for a talk. In lesson observations too very little corporal punishment was witnessed and only in two schools [DOMINGO, KILFI], though this might have been because classroom teachers were more reticent to cane pupils in front of observers given that many knew that it was prohibited.

Exclusion from school was another form of punishment, applied in some cases for not wearing a uniform [KILFI], not bringing writing materials [BAOBAB], or latecoming [METRO]. In some cases, punishment through exclusion was as controversial as corporal punishment. In one school, parents, in particular were angry that if their child/ward came late to school they were refused entry, pointing out that exclusion from school hinders learning [METRO]. Girls too in one school said what they disliked most about the school was being sent home from school [DOMINGO]. Sometimes, as mentioned earlier, parents were called to school to discuss issues of pupil absenteeism or persistent latecoming [KANTI, METRO, DOYA, BAOBAB] (see also Chapter 9), or home visits were made by PTA or SBMC members, teachers or LGEA staff [KANTI, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB].

In contrast, there were also examples of positive disciplinary practices. Two head teachers offered termly rewards to pupils for punctuality [KANTI, BAOBAB] and one said he gave out old textbooks for pupils who turn up on the first day of term, to help improve attendance [KANTI]. In addition to the annual prize-giving, some school teachers were said to give rewards for good exam or classroom performance (see Chapter 8).

7.4.2 Prefects and monitors

Prefect systems operated in all six schools, and their main function was to assist teachers in disciplining pupils and organising them in activities such as assembly or school cleaning. Prefects operated under the leadership of the head boy and head girl, under a gendered, hierarchical system in which the head boy was also the head prefect, in charge of all prefects, and the head girl was only in charge of female prefects. Although in most of the schools there were both female and male prefects, in one school [DOYA], most of the prefects were said to be male. Similarly, the tasks were gendered. Notably, jobs that carried status and responsibility were allocated to male prefects, such as ringing the school bell or raising the flag [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA, BAOBAB]. In contrast, the “office girl”, who was in charge of cleaning the head

teacher's office, was invariably female. The allocation of prefect and pupil responsibilities and duties reinforced gender stereotypes about male superiority and leadership and female inferiority and domesticity, which give powerful gender messages about the different types of positions and activities appropriate to girls and boys.

A couple of schools reported particularly sophisticated prefect systems, which had specialised cadres of prefects [DOMINGO, DOYA]. One school had "social prefects", selected to regulate other pupils' uniform and general appearance [DOYA]. The other had "police prefects" who, among other duties, had the job of tracking down absentee pupils, which took them out of school, and which one male prefect complained about [DOMINGO]. "Doctors", which existed in the same school, were the only prefects mentioned in any context who had purely pastoral duties, concerned with pupils' health issues.

However, as mentioned above, in all the schools prefects' main duties related to organising pupils for assembly and cleaning, and disciplining pupils. Supervising school cleaning also often involved beating pupils perceived not to be applying themselves well enough [KANTI, DOMINGO]. Prefects were also expected to apprehend latecomers, and in some cases cane them [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA]; in one case prefects were observed bringing latecomers to teachers to be caned [BAOBAB]. During break, they often intervened in cases of pupil bullying and fighting, though again this often involved beating the culprit(s) [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA].

Given that prefects often physically punished pupils, it is unsurprising that prefects were sometimes bullied too [BAOBAB]. It is also pertinent to note that prefects sometimes missed lessons to carry out their duties [DOMINGO; METRO], or had to arrive at school very early to carry out their tasks [DOYA].

Prefects were selected from Primary 5 and 6 by teacher committee, sometimes after recommendation by class teachers. The criteria for selection across all the schools included academic performance, especially in English, neatness and punctuality and general attitude towards school. In several cases size and physique was said to matter, which resulted in some overage boys being selected irrespective of their academic performance [METRO, KILFI, DOYA].

Class monitors also formed part of schools' disciplinary systems; their main aim was to maintain discipline in the classroom when the teacher was not present and report noise-makers to the teacher on their return, as well as organise classroom cleaning. However, monitors were often seen (or reported) taking matters into their own hands and beating their peers [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO]. In one school male monitors were observed disciplining pupils even when the teacher was in the classroom [DOMINGO]. There was usually a female and male monitor per class; again the male monitor appeared to have greater authority. Indeed in one school the boy was called the "monitor", and the girl was the "assistant monitor" [KILFI].

7.4.3 Teachers and the organisation of pupils

In addition to teachers' duties in the classroom (see Chapter 8), teachers in all the schools were assigned more general school responsibilities in relation to pupils, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Teachers were also said to be involved in organising extra-curricular activities such as games, quizzes and debates [KANTI, METRO, KILFI], which were considered to boost enrolment and motivate pupils although no organised extra-curricular activities were actually witnessed on research visits and data were not collected on how often such activities took place. One LGEA

reported that NGOs were helping to sponsor extra-curricular activities such as games and sporting competitions [KILFI].

Teachers varied both across and within schools as to the degree of interest and concern they showed towards individual pupils. In all schools pupils identified some teachers who were kind, understanding or caring. In addition to perceived professional competence, a number of pupils identified teachers who showed interest and concern for individual pupils as being characteristic of a good teacher [DOMINGO]. In particular, the only female teacher in one school saw the welfare of female pupils as an important responsibility and called on government to supply sanitary pads to improve girls' attendance at school during menstruation:

One of my responsibilities is to take care of girls concerning their health, to be tidy always. Sometimes I notice girls that are menstruating; sometimes they complain about stomach problem and headache. Some don't come to school during their period and if I find out I report to the class teacher so that they will not be punished. I suggest that government should help encourage girls by providing pads to girls as an awareness. There was a time I told my class to stand up, when they did, one girl was menstruating and was wet, [so] the whole class started laughing at her. Since at the moment [that time] I've [still] nothing to assist her; [I] simply told her to go home and bath, which she did, and she came back to school the next day. (DOYA, female teacher).

Pupils said they appreciated it when teachers took time to visit pupils' homes when they were absent to find out why they were absent and whether they were well [KILFI, BAOBAB]. In one school, this was part of a more systematic school-wide campaign to improve attendance and/or punctuality, which sometimes involved community members. [KILFI]

The existence of sexual harassment or rape by either teachers or pupils was not explicitly referred to in any of the case study interview data (except by one LGEA official) though equally respondents were not questioned on the matter directly. However, its prevalence at secondary level has been noted in other states (FME 2007b; Bakari, 2011; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011) and several Board members acknowledged its existence in Adamawa. They pointed out that fear of sexual violence as much as its occurrence, both on the way to school and in school, can affect girls' enrolment and retention although one Board member asserted that the risk of violence on the way to school had been reduced through ADSUBEB's increased provision of schools. Although ADSUBEB dismissed three male teachers from service for rape in one of the case study LGEAs, Board members interviewed said prosecution is difficult as families, and Muslim families in particular, often do not want to pursue the case so as not to damage the girl's reputation and consequently her chances of marriage. This reluctance to report sexual violence was also highlighted in the national FME (2007b) survey on school violence, which pointed out that although around 11% of female pupils/students admitted they knew of rape cases in school, not one female teacher acknowledged its existence and only 2% of male teachers did.

7.5 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY AND OUTCOMES)

In this section the key points about the various aspects of pupil management and pupil-pupil relations are summarised and drawn together in relation to issues of access.

Educational costs in terms of school fees, PTA levies, one-off development payments and the purchase of school uniforms and study materials collectively constituted a major obstacle to the enrolment and/or retention of some children in school. ADSUBEB's efforts in preventing schools from charging excessive PTA levies and other school fees and providing Primary 1 girls with free school uniform have succeeded in enabling more children, and girls in particular, to enrol in school. However, close monitoring will be needed to ensure that schools adhere to the regulations regarding fees and levies since there are indications that in some cases unsanctioned

fees are still being demanded by schools and pressure is being put on parents/guardians to buy textbooks, which will negatively affect enrolment.

The research also indicated that ADSUBEB's intended expansion of the school uniform initiative to include both girls and boys of all years should significantly impact on school enrolment and retention.

Some schools showed themselves to be unsympathetic to financial difficulty with the result that a pupil's inability to provide writing materials, or pay a PTA levy could result in temporary exclusion from school or corporal punishment, which in turn sometimes led to pupil absenteeism and/or dropout.

Across the six case study schools, the pupils' school day was highly regimented and controlled within a timetable which bore little relation to the demands of pupils' lives outside school and which resulted in persistent punishment for late coming and/or absenteeism for some pupils (see Chapter 9). Inspections of pupil appearance and neatness and school cleaning were given particular emphasis, with punishment and/or exclusion for those who did not live up to standards, which in turn sometimes led to further absenteeism and dropout.

The proportion of the school timetable allocated to teaching and learning varied dramatically among schools and in some cases was as little as 2hrs 35mins, which was relatively short, especially when compared to time allocated to cleaning, assembly and other labour tasks. The time on leaning needs to be the focus of a reconsideration of school timetable allocations and actual practices. In consultation with families and communities the school day and timetable should be reviewed (see Chapter 9), to redress the balance between class time and cleaning/administration time, and the fit with community lifestyle demands, their other household needs, farming duties and/or Qur'anic schooling. This would likely have a positive impact on enrolment and attendance and has the potential to improve educational quality.

Pupils were managed within a highly authoritarian system in which a clear gender hierarchy operated and in which corporal and other physical punishment and manual labour played a central role. Despite the efforts of ADSUBEB, LGEA officials and some head teachers to ban corporal punishment, many teachers proved to be reluctant to stop, and its practice was widespread and often unregulated. Yet, corporal punishment had an unequivocally negative effect on pupil access and school quality as it variously affected pupils' concentration, confidence and participation in class (see also Chapter 8) and resulted in pupil late coming, absenteeism, dropout or withdrawal by parents from school. Echoing the findings of the VSO study on teacher motivation in Nigeria (Sherry 2008), these data show that excessive corporal punishment can also have a negative impact on parent-teacher and teacher-pupil relations. At the same time data also showed that there was clearly some parental support for corporal punishment; indeed the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011), showed that parents/guardians were overwhelmingly in favour of caning pupils to maintain discipline (86.5%–95.5%). This indicates that further attempts to discourage the use of corporal punishment in school will likely need to address parental as well as teacher attitudes in order to be successful.

Some schools and individual teachers were visibly attempting to replace corporal punishment with manual labour, such as cleaning toilets, or other physical punishments such as being made to kneel in class with arms outstretched. However, these can be just as painful and/or humiliating and can cause pupils to miss time that could be spent learning in class. It is therefore crucial that schools establish disciplinary systems that respect children's dignity and do not further deprive them of time or energy that could be spent learning. Such a system would enhance pupils'

experience of schooling and reduce the negative impact that current disciplinary practices have on pupil enrolment, attendance, retention and school quality.

The prefect and monitor system as it currently stands forms an integral part of the school's disciplinary system. However, the example in one school of having health prefects shows the potential for developing a prefect (and monitor) system in which prefects have more supportive and pastoral roles, rather than regulatory and punitive ones, which often only perpetuate a culture of violence in school. Reconceptualising the prefect system would therefore help improve school quality and pupil retention. It could also help address some of the gender stereotypes and inequalities that the system currently reinforces. For example, corporal punishment was usually harsher for boys based on boys' presumed 'natural' ability to endure more pain, and girls' presumed physical delicateness. Similarly, the head boy was usually in charge of boys and girls, whereas the head girl only supervised girls, thus reinforcing a notion of male leadership and superiority and female inferiority, especially as tasks of responsibility and ones that presumed to involve greater physical strength were allocated to male prefects and to boys (See also gendered teacher responsibilities above). In contrast, the greater amount of domestic chores given to girls in some schools also replicated the unequal division of household work at home (see Chapter 9) and sent powerful gender messages to girls and boys about their relative position in society, their responsibilities and capabilities, which in turn can limit the educational expectations and aspirations and learning outcomes of girls in particular. However, gender stereotyping can also have damaging effects on boys' participation in schooling when their classroom or exam performances fail to live up to this ideal of masculine superiority that school itself has helped perpetuate (see also Chapter 8). These gender messages were at odds with the Board's positive messages about educating girls on an equal basis with boys.

Positive and respectful relations between and among pupils are critical to pupils' positive experience of schooling, which in turn increase the likelihood of pupils staying in school and performing better. Whereas theft or physical violence between pupils appeared to result in teacher intervention, there was a greater tolerance of "teasing" and verbal harassment, which can have a similarly negative impact on the recipient, especially on girls and overage pupils, resulting in reduced classroom participation and increased absenteeism and the likelihood of dropout.

Good teacher-pupil relationships are also crucial to both teacher and pupil motivation and therefore likely to impact on learning quality and outcomes (Sherry, 2008). One way of encouraging positive relations among pupils, and improving teacher-pupil relations, as suggested in several schools, is to provide facilities and/or equipment to increase teacher and pupil involvement in extra-curricular activities. It was also thought such activities would improve pupil enrolment and retention.

Similarly, the efforts of individual teachers showing concern for pupils' welfare and reasons for absenteeism clearly made a difference to pupils' feelings towards school and were likely to have a positive impact on attendance and retention. Conversely, gross transgressions of professional responsibility and duty of care by teachers, such as brutal corporal punishment or sexual harassment of pupils, had the opposite effect and need to be reported and dealt with in a consistent and confidential manner that encourages more open reporting of such issues.

CHAPTER 8 TEACHING AND LEARNING

8.1 INTRODUCTION

ADSUBEB has spent considerable resources aimed at widening access and improving educational quality in primary schools within the state. Thus far, they have primarily been directed at improving infrastructure and teaching resources, thereby improving the conditions of teaching and learning; upgrading teachers' paper qualifications; and widening access through social mobilisation and incentives such as free school uniforms. However, ultimately whether pupils have meaningful learning opportunities and successful learning outcomes depends to a large extent on the *quality* of the interaction between teacher and pupils, and among pupils, that goes on in lessons. These processes of learning will in turn have a bearing on whether pupils stay in school or drop out, and on pupil outcomes in assessment. Given the importance of the learning process, it is strange that there are few available empirical classroom-based studies that have focused on it in Nigeria although two primarily quantitative studies examined Maths and English, (and in one case, Science) classes at primary school level (with one considering secondary level classes too) across a number of states, predominantly in the north (Hardman Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008; Davison, 2010). These are discussed later.

This chapter first considers the classroom conditions under which lessons were held in the case study schools, and the resources available. Then, it looks at classroom pedagogies including seating arrangements, medium of instruction, teaching methods, assessment and teacher pupil relations. Finally, classroom discipline is discussed

8.2 CLASSROOM CONDITIONS

8.2.1 Seats and space

Classroom conditions varied both across and within the case study schools. In three of the schools pupils enjoyed learning in new or newly renovated classrooms with smooth cement floors, sufficient functioning benches, tables, legible chalkboards, sufficient light and electricity [METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. There was recognition among various respondents that clean and well-equipped classrooms helped pupil learning [KANTI, KILFI, BAOBAB] whereas poor classroom conditions, such as learning under shade or in dirty classrooms with inadequate roofing or furniture, illegible chalkboards hindered learning [KANTI, DOYA]. See Table 5.2 in Chapter 5 for further details of the classroom conditions in the case study LGEAS.

In the other three schools conditions were less favourable and varied within the school [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA]. Two of these were rural schools with Primary 1 classes held under shade [KANTI, DOYA]. In one of the schools parents were particularly upset about this, and the community leader reported that pupils complained of pain in their buttocks from sitting on tree trunks [KANTI]. There was some evidence that classroom conditions improved as pupils moved up the grades [KANTI, DOYA]. In one school, for example, Primary 1 pupils were under shade. Primary 2 classes were held in a dark earth-floor room with termite mounds, filthy walls, piles of rubble and metal sheeting in the corner, as well as a collapsing roof, and an illegible board. Some pupils were seated on planks; others sat on the bare floor. In contrast, Primary 6 pupils learned in a lighter and brighter classroom that had been recently renovated by the state; it possessed a good cement floor, legible chalkboards and pupils were seated on proper benches with desks. The classrooms for the grades in between suffered variously from pot-holed floors, illegible boards, broken or insufficient furniture, termite mounds, broken doors or windows [KANTI]. Insufficient furniture was a problem in classes of three schools [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA], and teachers in one school also complained that they themselves lacked seats [DOMINGO].

Leaking roofs and dark classrooms were observed to cause classes to be interrupted or stopped when it rained [KANTI] and in one LGEA, where there were schools that still lacked classrooms, it was said that teaching stopped at 10am because it got too hot to teach under shade, even assuming there was sufficient shade [S2].

The issue of overcrowding in Nigerian classrooms has been shown to have a profoundly detrimental effect on teacher morale and educational quality (Sherry, 2008), and in the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) it was highlighted as a major concern of parents/guardians. Overcrowding was observed and/or reported in five of the schools [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA], even where classroom facilities were good. Overcrowding was also highlighted as a more widespread issue in a couple of LGEAs [S1 & S2]. Class sizes in the observed lessons varied from 20 to 76, but numbers of pupils enrolled were often higher. Given the complaints about overcrowding and reports of high levels of absenteeism, a low number of pupils in an observed lesson was more likely to be evidence of pupil absenteeism and/or dropout than of a small class size. In fact the overcrowding and consequent effect on educational quality might in itself be a factor in pupil absenteeism and/or dropout. For example, parents in one school complained of pupils sitting six a bench, and having to sit on the floor or on the windowsill, yet in the lesson observations no more than 36 pupils were seen in class, with only three to four pupils per bench [DOYA].

In schools that lacked adequate security (see Chapter 5), pupils also complained about outsiders sometimes defecating in [KANTI, DOMINGO] or vandalising classrooms [KANTI, DOMINGO, BAOBAB] or similarly using the compound as a toilet [BAOBAB]. Animal excrement is also likely to have been an issue in one of the rural schools where animals were regularly brought through school grounds and a goat was seen in the classroom on one occasion [DOYA].

Whether new or old classrooms, however, observations in all schools recorded bare walls, except in one classroom, which had some wall charts displayed [KILFI].

8.2.2 Teaching and learning resources

As discussed in Chapter 7, although pupils were required to provide writing materials for school, some did not. This was either because they could not afford them, which was the case for some pupils in all six schools (and was mentioned as a more widespread issue across several LGEAs), or because pupils forgot them [METRO, DOYA]. In most of the lessons observed across the schools, however, the majority of pupils had exercise books and a pen or pencil although as pointed out in Chapter 7, this could be due to the fact that those without writing materials might have been excluded from school or had absented themselves to avoid punishment.

However, those pupils who lacked an exercise book were not able to copy down information from the board, or note down or do classroom exercises or homework. Those who lacked a pen or pencil were seen borrowing from other pupils who had finished the work. The borrowers, however, generally did not have time to complete the task before the teacher moved on to another activity and/or the lesson finished.

The issue of textbook provision was hotly debated in all six schools. While there was widespread acknowledgement and appreciation that the Board had vastly improved textbook provision in the state [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB] (see Chapter 5 also), there were calls across all six schools and LGEAs for government to provide more textbooks. In addition, some schools simultaneously called on more parents to buy textbooks [DOMINGO, METRO,] and even where not urged, some parents who could afford the textbooks supplied them [DOYA, KILFI,

BAOBAB]. Across the six schools, an increase in the provision of textbooks was variously seen as an important means of improving enrolment and retention, decreasing dropout and/or enhancing teaching and learning. For a group of pupils in one school a definition of a good teacher was “someone who is always using a textbook.” Teacher’s guides, which were also seen as important to improving teaching quality, were also requested [KANTI, DOMINGO]. Pupils in several schools requested more books that they could take home, or have in the school library [KANTI, METRO, KILFI, DOYA].

Both within and across schools, differences in textbook availability in class varied. Even in well-resourced schools, lessons varied from where only one textbook was visible to others where almost all pupils had textbooks [METRO, KILFI]. In a couple of schools (one of which was not a case study school) unused boxes of books were seen in the head teacher’s office. However, this may be because textbooks were seen as too valuable to give out to pupils. The following example of one school also lends support to this theory. All teachers were observed with a teacher’s handbook and some were observed teaching from the textbook in class. Although the head teacher thought that textbooks were given out to pupils for classroom use, teachers and pupils said that this did not happen, both arguing that the textbooks would be ruined if used in class. “Pupils will destroy them if they are given”, one pupil said. The few pupils whose parents bought the textbooks reportedly used them and were encouraged to share in class [BAOBAB]. This attitude might also explain why in two schools which had both well-stocked libraries and computer centres, pupils were never seen using them [METRO, BAOBAB]. In one case, pupils complained that they had asked to use the computers but maintained that only staff and paying outsiders were allowed to use them [BAOBAB]. In the third school [KILFI], which possessed both a library and computer room, pupils were seen being taught computing skills, which one pupil said helped them learn, although while being observed neither pupils nor teachers actually touched a computer. Nevertheless, some pupils mentioned liking the facilities. In the library of the same school, two library assistants were seen supervising pupils who were studying.

Other issues raised about textbooks included praise for standardising textbooks across the LGEA, allowing for a centralised exam system [METRO], and concern that frequent changes to prescribed textbooks constituted a major challenge to the school [DOYA].

Teaching aids were also considered by some teachers and LGEA staff to be important to improving teaching quality and encouraging enrolment [DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB]. One school supervisor explained that they had run workshops for teachers on using teaching aids [BAOBAB] and in one school there was mention of some teachers improvising teaching aids, though none were seen in class [DOMINGO]. In fact no teaching aids were used (besides chalk and the chalkboard) in any of the 34 lessons that were observed across the schools. In one school teachers explained that they had not made any teaching aids because of delays in salary payment [BAOBAB]; in another, teachers wanted them to be provided by government [DOYA].

8.3 PEDAGOGIES

Before discussing classroom pedagogies in greater detail, it should be noted that researchers often had the feeling that they were witnessing a display lesson, which had already been taught with that class beforehand. Even where this may have been the case, in a number of instances many pupils still seemed not to understand what was going on.

8.3.1 Seating arrangements

Benches and desks were universally arranged in traditional columns and rows, separated by two to three aisles. Pupils were generally allowed to choose where they sat and chose to sit in gender-segregated groups [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. One school operated a mixed-seating policy aimed at cutting down classroom noise and playing around [DOYA]. For similar reasons a head teacher of another school, and individual teachers in other schools had attempted mixed-gender seating but reported that pupils tended to self-segregate once the teacher had left the room, which observations confirmed [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. Lesson observations also showed girls and boys preferring to be squeezed onto a crowded bench rather than sit next to someone of the “opposite sex” on an emptier bench [DOMINGO, BAOBAB]. Significantly, teacher and pupil explanations for pupil preference for same-gender seating varied. Teachers in particular thought that for “cultural reasons” Muslim pupils, and girls in particular, preferred to sit apart [DOMINGO, METRO, BAOBAB], some reportedly due to parental pressure [DOMINGO]. Yet, in the school that operated a whole-school mixed-seating policy, parents said they accepted the seating arrangement as it was official school policy and “it aids learning” although it should be noted that all the parents interviewed were Christian. However, pupils gave other reasons for preferring same-gender seating. Girls in all six schools complained of (some) boys physically and/or verbally harassing, bullying or teasing them. A common complaint concerned other pupils – predominantly but not exclusively boys – teasing them about being married if they were seated next to a boy [KANTI, KILFI, BAOBAB]. Although some boys also complained about being teased in this way, the data suggest girls were more affected. In contrast, boys in two schools said they did not want to sit next to girls because they copied answers off them [METRO, BAOBAB], although “giraffing” (copying) by both girls and boys was witnessed in classes.

Overage pupils and irregular attenders also tended to self-segregate with overage boys in particular congregating on the back rows [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI], probably to protect themselves from being teased by other pupils, which pupils readily acknowledged (see Chapter 7).

8.3.2 Language of instruction

The language of instruction, English, constituted a major impediment to many pupils’ learning in all the case study schools and LGEAs, confirmed by both observational and interview data. This was obvious even in lessons where researchers knew that they were witnessing a repeat performance of an earlier lesson.

National government policy on the medium of instruction dictates that the “language of the immediate environment” should be used for the first three years of primary schooling, with English as a subject. “From the fourth year, English shall progressively be used as a medium of instruction and the language of the immediate environment and French shall be taught as subjects” (FRN, 2004b, p.16). Thus, in primary schools teaching is predominantly carried out in Hausa in the north, Igbo in the South East and Yoruba in the South West (Theobald *et al.*, 2007) and code-switching is prevalent (Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008; Salami, 2008). In Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith’s (2008) survey of Primary 6 Maths, English and Science lessons in twenty schools, primarily in the north, code-switching was observed in around three-quarters of lessons though fewer than a quarter of teachers admitted to the practice in the questionnaires. Salami’s (2008) study of code-switching in primary schools in the South West had similar findings. The difference between professed and observed practice is likely explained by teachers not wanting to admit to contravening government policy (Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008; Salami, 2008).

However, as Salami (2008) points out, language learning theory suggests that cognitive development is best achieved through a solid foundation of learning in a child's first language(s), before embarking on learning in a second or foreign language (see also Benson, 2004; Alidou *et al.*, 2006). Additional benefits of mother-tongue teaching demonstrated in other studies in SSA have included more active pupil participation, involving greater numbers of pupils (Benson 2004; Hovens, 2002; Heugh *et al.* 2007), more relaxed teacher–pupil relations (Benson, 2004; Brock-Utne, 2007), and better pedagogy (Hovens, 2002; Brock-Utne, 2007). Over 60% of the children in Salami's study expressed a preference for teaching in English and Yoruba. Salami (2008) concludes that “mother-tongue” teaching should be given an enhanced role alongside English in Nigeria so that teachers can enjoy the “educational benefits [of code-switching] in a situation of bi- or multilingualism, low English proficiency, lack of or poor language teacher education training, and lack or scarcity of material resources in mother-tongue education” (p.109). Thus, greater proficiency in English as a subject can be achieved by learning it in (a) familiar language(s) (Alidou *et al.*, 2006).

However, there is pressure, not least from parents, for English-only tuition (Ango *et al.* 2003, cited in Akyeampong *et al.*, 2009) even at pre-school level (see Ajayi, 2008). In two of the case study schools pupils considered the ability to teach well in English as a feature of a good teacher [DOMINGO, KILFI]. English-medium teaching is associated with private schools (and by implication better teaching) and with better socio-economic opportunities (Osokoya, 2004; Salami, 2008). One school inspector in Salami's (2008) study explained that it was precisely because of competition for enrolments from English-medium private schools in the area that they were actually encouraging teachers to teach in English from Primary 1, contrary to government policy.

However, parental attitudes can vary. In Sunal *et al.*'s (2003) study of parental and teacher attitudes to schooling, all parents thought children could learn better in their home language and half the parents and all the teachers noted that children from ethno-linguistic minorities were deprived of this opportunity and that this discouraged their children from completing school. A few parents from minority linguistic groups confirmed that they had not enrolled their children in school because the exclusion of their language made them feel disconnected from their culture. Programmes with Fulani nomads, for example, have demonstrated greater parental commitment to formal schooling when learning and teaching materials are in Fulfulde (see McCaffery *et al.*, 2006; Usman, 2006). However, many “minority” languages are under threat as they lack trained language teachers and orthographies that would enable teaching materials to be produced and encourage formal inclusion in the curriculum (Ango *et al.*, 2003, cited in Akyeampong *et al.*, 2009). Although parents were not asked about the medium of instruction in school in this study, their views will be critical to any future shift in policy.

Most teachers used a mixture of Hausa and English to teach [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. In the most urban school, however, almost all lessons were wholly or predominantly in English, partly because some teachers were non-Hausa speakers [METRO]. Some English lessons in other schools were also taught wholly or almost wholly in English; however, the fact that some of these teachers also admitted to using Hausa at other times suggests that normal classroom practice was not observed, perhaps because they did not want to contravene official policy while being observed, as other studies have suggested (Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008; Salami, 2008). Moreover, some teachers also found it difficult to teach in English [KANTI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. A tiny minority of lessons were conducted wholly, or almost wholly, in Hausa [KANTI, DOMINGO]. Other local languages which teachers were seen to use in class included Higgi, Chamba and Fulfulde, as teachers acknowledged that some pupils even struggled to understand Hausa [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA].

Teachers across the case studies were generally in favour of teaching using both English and Hausa, which is what most said they practised, because they said many pupils struggled to understand in English, which observations confirmed. The reported negative impacts of teaching in English included discouraging pupils [BAOBAB], slowing down the lesson and wasting time [BAOBAB], low classroom participation [KANTI, METRO], pupil absenteeism and dropout [KANTI and LGEA N1] and exam failure [METRO]. In addition, pupils were sometimes reprimanded, including being flogged, or threatened for speaking in Hausa or other local languages in class [BAOBAB, METRO, DOYA] although teachers' tolerance for use of local languages in class varied. The majority of pupils interviewed also generally favoured learning in English and Hausa [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI] although a few groups said they preferred to learn wholly in Hausa or another local language [KANTI, BAOBAB] and others expressed a desire to learn wholly in English, even when their competence in English was clearly inadequate for the task [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO]. This might possibly have been because the ability to teach in English was seen as characteristic of a good teacher [DOMINGO, KILFI]. In contrast, one head teacher said that the number of non-Hausa-speaking teachers in his school was hampering attempts to implement "mother-tongue" teaching in Primary 1 to 3.

8.3.3 Teaching methods

The national policy on education (FRN, 2004b) is aiming for teaching that uses "practical, exploratory and experimental methods" (p.15). However, all observations across the six case study schools exemplified traditional didactic whole-class teaching, led by the teacher from the front of the class, and encompassing broadly similar teaching methods. Some teachers stood at the front of the class and predominantly monologued for the duration of the lesson [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA] whereas most teachers across the schools interspersed their talk to varying degrees with choral repetition and/or question-and-answer routines, which demanded either choral or individual responses. In almost all cases, the questions demanded simple factual recall. Similar patterns have been recorded in two quantitative surveys of classroom practice in Nigeria taking in primary and junior secondary schools (Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008; Davison, 2010).

The chalkboard was the only teaching aid used by the majority of teachers; some wrote on the board and asked pupils to copy into their exercise books; in some cases pupils were asked to answer questions or solve the problems that had been put on the board [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. A few Maths teachers asked a few individual pupils to come to the board to solve a problem [KANTI, METRO, KILFI]. In Davison's study of over 1000 Maths and English lessons, teachers spent over 50% of their time at the board, writing on it, reading from it or watching a pupil write on it (Davison, 2010). In this study, as in Davison's, textbooks were rarely used. Davison speculates that this might be because not all pupils had access to a textbook but noted that textbooks were generally only used to set homework or a class exercise rather than as a teaching tool, though sometimes a pupil was asked to read aloud from one. The same was true in the case study schools. Where teachers had textbooks available, they perhaps needed support in how they could use the books more creatively. Alternatively, as suggested earlier, it could be that they considered textbooks too precious to use.

The case study classroom observations were similar to those in the other classroom-based studies (Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008; Davison, 2010), in that they showed a consistently high level of "safe talk" (Chick, 1996): routinised classroom interaction which makes very limited cognitive demands of pupils, with a lot of pseudo checking of answers. Such ritualised exchanges have been observed in many African classroom settings (see Dembelé and Miaro-II, 2003) and interpreted as a coping strategy which allows teachers and pupils to save face and maintain the appearance that effective teaching and learning is taking place when actually struggling with the

language of instruction and/or academic content of lessons (Chick, 1996). The comments from the case studies about pupils struggling with English (and sometimes Hausa) provide further evidence in this regard; so too does the observation made in a couple of schools that teachers sometimes skipped topics on the syllabus that they found too difficult to teach [DOYA, BAOBAB].

There was some acknowledgement by teachers in one school that better teaching methods, including making lessons more interesting, would improve pupils' learning, punctuality and retention [KANTI]. This was a view echoed by the occasional head teacher and LGEA official [KILFI, DOMINGO, KANTI]. However, generally there was very little awareness, or acknowledgement, by teachers that the teaching methods they were using might have a negative impact on pupil learning and motivation and therefore ultimately on attendance, performance and retention. Pupils in one school, however, clearly identified aspects of didactic teaching that could improve their learning: teachers giving good explanations, repeating information if necessary, speaking audibly, and writing clearly on the board; "step by step teaching and [teachers] not jumping topics"; more correction of homework and class assignments [KILFI].

Opportunities for oral participation in class, beyond choral repetition or sentence completion, were overall very limited, and non-existent in some lessons. Low participation was recognised by some teachers and attributed variously to pupils' difficulties in English [ALL SCHOOLS] and, in one case, poor teaching methods [KANTI], in addition to the gender-differentiated explanations described below. However, it is likely that fear of being punished for an incorrect answer and/or laughed at by peers, as reported by both pupils and teachers, was also a major factor, as some admitted [METRO, KILFI].

No particular gender patterns were discernable in classroom participation: in some classes the teacher seemed to focus on girls, in others on boys and sometimes they asked questions to both to answer. More often teachers focused on a few star pupils. Teachers' views on whether girls or boys participated more varied across and within schools. Interestingly, in three schools pupils' views were split along gender lines, with girls maintaining that girls participated more and boys arguing that boys did [DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA]. In some cases gender stereotypes were invoked to explain more or less participation in class. Low participation by girls, and Muslim girls in particular, was often ascribed to their being "shy" and lacking in confidence [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, BAOBAB] although one head teacher thought that they could participate more with female teachers. Low participation by boys was ascribed to their "lacking interest" or being "inattentive" or "playful" although both girls and boys were variously accused of playing around in class, which observations confirmed, especially when they were not learning anything. Greater participation by boys in one school was put down to their being "freer", "talking a lot" and because "they can learn faster" [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO].

Overage pupils too were singled out as having low participation [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI]. This is potentially a significant issue given the size of this population in the primary sector reported in Chapter 4 (see Section 4.8 and Table 4.8) and the number of them who will continue to enter late and drop out and re-enter school. In one school, overage girls were said to "follow boys into the night" [KANTI] and so not concentrate in class; otherwise overage pupils were said not to participate because they feel self-conscious about their age and about being teased when they get an answer wrong [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI] (see Chapter 7, Section 7.3.5). There were also reports of overage pupils in particular being called names such as "fool" and "big for nothing." [DOMINGO]. Indeed the whole issue of pupils teasing each other for making mistakes in class, which observers witnessed, was said to affect pupils' participation in general, especially girls [KILFI]. As one teacher explained: "Girls are always shy; they fear pupils will laugh at them

whenever they give wrong answers.” Thus, it would seem that teasing, rather than being shy, may be the main issue. Though both girls and boys teased and were teased, girls were reportedly affected more, in some cases dropping out of school as a result [DOMINGO, BAOBAB]. One teacher thought boys generally teased girls because they felt superior. In contrast a male pupil in another school said that if he answered questions in class, he was criticised by his peers for bragging [KANTI]. Fear of being beaten in class also affected pupil participation, which was most noticeable in one lesson observation where the teacher was seen to beat pupils who answered incorrectly [METRO, KILFI]. One boy said the best way to avoid any punishment in class was to keep silent [METRO].

Praise for pupils giving correct answers was observed in a few lessons [KANTI, KILFI], as was encouragement for pupils to clap for their peers [KILFI, BAOBAB]. In many classes, however, feedback and/or praise for pupils’ answers was limited or non-existent. On the other hand, some teachers gave rewards for good performance such as snacks and stationery, sometimes paid for out of their own pocket [DOYA, BAOBAB, LGEA S1], in addition to the annual class prizes given out at prize-giving. Pupils in one school thought that rewards for good performance helped them learn better [DOYA].

Homework was given in several observed lessons and was equated with good teaching by parents and community members in particular [BAOBAB]. However, parents complained about insufficient homework being given in a couple of schools [METRO, DOYA] and pupils in one school requested more homework to be corrected [KILFI].

No state-level assessment data were available from ADSUBEB and the Primary 6 assessment data provided by the case study schools were unreliable in most cases (see individual case study reports in Appendix I). However, schools talked about “pupil performance” generally in terms of tests and exams although one school mentioned continuous assessment, which is now supposed to be the basis for the Primary School Leaving Certificate at the end of Primary 6 (FRN, 2004b). As with classroom participation, opinions were divided or undecided as to gender patterns in exam performance. Reasons put forward to explain some girls doing better included getting more parental assistance from spending more time at home [DOMINGO], and not playing around [KILFI]. The main reason given for why (some) girls might not do well related to their presumed focus on marriage [DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA]; other reasons included girls going out at night [DOYA], playing a lot [DOMINGO] and petty trading [DOMINGO]. The main reason given to explain (some) boys’ poor performance was that they “play a lot” [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA]. Some were also said not to concentrate or listen in class [METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB], or to spend time in the beer parlour [KANTI]. Christian pupils, and boys in particular, were thought to get better results in one school because they were used to studying (including learning from a chalkboard, sitting on benches and learning in English) from Sunday school [DOYA]. In a similar vein, in another school it was thought that pupils that attended the church pre-school also did well [KANTI]. Overage, and underage pupils were identified as groups of pupils that often did not perform well in exams and tests [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. Long-term absentees and (some) Muslim girls were also thought to fail or attain low marks [KANTI, KILFI, METRO]. However, in the absence of reliable assessment data no further comment can be made.

In the case of overage pupils, similar reasons were given to those made concerning low participation in class, namely that pupils feel self-conscious about their age [KILFI, BAOBAB] though it is likely that the widespread culture of teasing/insulting overage pupils will affect their performance. A teacher in one school noted that she had a 21-year-old man in her class who could neither read nor write and she had no idea what to do with him [METRO].

Poor performance in tests and examinations also resulted in pupils being teased. As one Board member said, the teasing does not stop in the school, especially as regards test results. Since pupils are ranked from first to last position in each class on the basis of exam results, they explained that those in the bottom three positions are given hurtful nicknames such as “dummyhead” and are teased outside school and/or are beaten at home. All this, the Board member said, leads to exam malpractice. This may explain to some extent the high number of accusations about cheating and copying in class. Boys accused girls of copying answers/cheating in four schools [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB] whereas girls levelled the same accusation at boys in one [DOMINGO]. Long-term absentees were also accused of cheating in exams [KILFI].

Although automatic promotion is now official government policy, schools still reported repeating pupils, sometimes at the request of parents [e.g. DOMINGO] and ADSUBEB collects statistics on repetition at school. As outlined in Chapter 4 (see Section 4.8.2 and Fig 4.5), repetition rates varied greatly among schools and LGEAs and within grades. The main interrelated reasons for pupils repeating were poor exam/test performance and long-term absenteeism [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI]. One school had a policy of accepting no more than five repeaters per class in order to prevent further overcrowding although one teacher thought more should be allowed to repeat to prevent pupil dropout or transfer to other schools [METRO].

Two schools mentioned extra catch-up classes for overage pupils [KANTI, METRO]. One school had had a special class for overage pupils taught by experienced staff, adopting an individualised instruction strategy [METRO]. The idea was for the pupils to later join the regular class at an appropriate level according to “individual ability”. This remedial class had been cancelled by the previous management, but was about to be revived by the new head teacher. The class would now also take care of repeaters or pupils that had previously dropped out. In the other school, the counselling teacher organised catch-up classes for overage pupils [KANTI].

Good teacher–pupil relations were invariably identified as being central to good teaching, according to pupils across all six schools. Specifically, they appreciated teachers who could interact well with pupils without shouting at them or beating them, and who treated them equally but were respectful of individual differences. Teacher–pupil relations in class across the schools were generally considered to be authoritarian but supportive, according to observations and pupil reports, with some teachers offering praise and encouragement to pupils, as mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, teacher–pupil relations varied across and within schools, with the occasional teacher appearing indifferent and/or intimidating. In the latter cases this manifested itself either in lessons in which the teacher failed to maintain the pupils’ interest and had no control of the class, or was very intimidating (usually with the threat or corporal punishment) [DOMINGO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. In one school, the “good teachers” were identified as being what the pupils most liked about the school [METRO]. In another school, one group of pupils expressed satisfaction that there was “no fighting with teachers as in other schools.” [KILFI]. As highlighted in Chapter 7, mention was made in a couple of schools of some teachers making special efforts to care for pupils by lending or buying pencils or pencils for those who could not afford them, or sometimes giving pupils money to buy stationery [KANTI, BAOBAB].

Although most pupils said teachers generally treated pupils equally and fairly, pupils in one school thought that “more intelligent” pupils were favoured [DOMINGO]. There was also a suggestion among pupils in two schools that some female teachers were often in a hurry to leave class and “sit around under trees” [DOMINGO, BAOBAB]. A senior member of staff in another school agreed that some female teachers were more often absent and did not plan lessons but pointed out that it is because they often struggle to juggle work with household chores

[METRO]. Bakari's (2011) study also noted that some female teachers have to miss school to care for a sick child, which can be mistakenly interpreted as a lack of professionalism.

8.3.4 Discipline

Teachers' ability to maintain control of the class was essential to pupil learning. Pupils in four of the six schools complained about other pupils making noise, eating food, messing about and fighting or bullying, and the fact that these distractions prevented them from being able to concentrate and learn [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA]. As one boy put it: "*Bam mu son duka, surutu da neman fada*" [We don't want flogging, noise making and some pupils (both boys and girls) looking for trouble]. In large classes it was relatively easy to mess around at the back, where overage boys in particular tended to gather. A number of observations across the schools confirmed all this and sometimes the teachers did not attempt to regulate the behaviour. In contrast, in a class in one school, pupils behaved well with minimal noise perhaps because the lesson was relatively more interactive, the teacher was supportive and encouraging and more pupils appeared to understand [BAOBAB].

Corporal punishment was witnessed in only a handful of classroom observations, sometimes applied by the classroom monitor [DOMINGO, KILFI] though canes were carried by some teachers but not used during the observed lessons [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI]. However, as one Board member pointed out, even holding a cane is sufficient to prevent pupils from learning:

You are holding a cane in the class, so the child will be scared to say the wrong thing. If you are the type using the cane for not saying the right thing, so it will affect their ability [to learn].

In one lesson the teacher was observed beating pupils (mainly boys) for failing to solve a problem at the chalkboard and after being beaten they would return sobbing to their seats. As reported in Chapter 7, corporal punishment was widely practised in the classroom by (some) staff in all six schools. Another very common classroom punishment was to make pupils kneel or stand [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]; other punishments included sending pupils outside, or making them run round the classroom, pick up litter or weed the compound [DOYA, BAOBAB]. Serious cases were referred to the discipline teacher [DOMINGO, KILFI]. All of these tasks effectively took more time away from pupils which could be spent in learning, and were designed to cause pupils humiliation and/or pain or physical discomfort.

Verbal reprimands were less commonly commented on either by pupils or researchers though it was noted that in one lesson the teacher rebuked pupils for laughing at a boy who got the answer wrong [DOYA]; however, on other occasions pupils were insulted or laughed at by their peers with no teacher intervention [KILFI]. As highlighted in Chapter 7, this kind of behaviour can result in pupils experiencing feelings of shame, or in non-participation in class or even absenteeism and/or dropout [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB,]. In a similar way, humiliating comments were made by a couple of female teachers to reprimand boys. For example: "Look at your shirt, like a dog played on it" and "You're a dummy if you can't answer this question." [BAOBAB]. The tendency for some female teachers to direct personal comments to boys in particular has been noted in other studies in Africa, often compensating for the fact that female teachers struggle to control (some) male pupils (See for example, Dunne et al., 2005).

8.4 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY AND OUTCOMES)

This chapter has examined teaching and learning in the classroom, making the argument that it lies at the core of educational quality, which in turn will impact on access to the curriculum, pupil retention and educational outcomes. In particular the focus has been on classroom processes, both the formal interactions between teachers and pupils and the informal interactions among pupils. The analysis has drawn on the classroom observations made in the case study schools,

and relevant interview data, which have also been related to previous research. In this section key points are summarised and specific gender effects are highlighted.

Classroom conditions that are conducive to learning are essential to the motivation of teachers and pupils and to improving educational quality. These conditions include large bright classrooms with roofs that do not leak, clear chalkboards, cement floors, sufficient benches and desks and a teacher–pupil ratio that is close to the recommended government ratio of 1:35. Much has been achieved by ADSUBEB in improving classroom conditions in some schools; however others lag behind with detrimental effects on educational quality (see also Chapter 5).

As a result of increasing enrolments in schools, classes in some schools are becoming overcrowded with insufficient furniture for pupils (and sometimes teachers) and some furniture of poor quality, thereby threatening educational quality, which in turn leads to pupil absenteeism and eventual dropout.

There is widespread recognition that textbook provision has vastly improved in many schools, although distribution varied dramatically among and within the case study schools, in some cases because books were considered too precious for pupils to use. Textbooks are only valuable tools in teaching and learning if pupils are allowed to use them in class and have regular access to them in school libraries. In addition, teachers would benefit from professional development on how to use textbooks in class in ways that go beyond reading passages aloud or setting exercises, and which impact positively on learning.

Proficiency in the medium of instruction in schools is crucial to pupils' ability to access the curriculum. Pupils' lack of proficiency in English (and that of some teachers too), denied many pupils access to the curriculum. It also contributed to teacher and pupil frustration, pupil failure in exams and to pupil absenteeism and dropout. Even the common practice of teaching in a mixture of English and Hausa causes other quality issues as it takes longer to cover lesson material. Minority language speakers not fluent in Hausa are even further disadvantaged, as are Hausa-speaking pupils taught by non-Hausa speakers.

Teaching methods were universally didactic and teacher-centred. In attempting to overcome the large class sizes, difficult classroom conditions, wide-ranging ages and pupils' (and sometimes the teacher's) lack of proficiency in English, teachers often resorted to monologue interspersed with a mixture of choral repetition and ritualised question-and-answer routines. This often resulted in limited learning opportunities and unruly classes, which were frustrating for pupils and teachers alike and made it easier for "teasing", harassment and bullying to go on unchecked.

The problem of large classes and the lack of resources will need to be overcome, and teachers will need more school-based professional support for them to be able to begin to implement the more reflective, interactive teaching methods desired by government.

The issue of overage pupils in particular needs to be addressed as their presence in mainstream classes was often shown to have a detrimental effect on their own learning and that of other pupils, also sometimes resulting in absenteeism and dropout. The idea of separate remedial classes for older pupils, which a couple of schools were doing, would seem worthwhile pursuing though teachers again will need support in how best to engage these pupils.

Classroom teasing and bullying was a serious issue, which had a negative impact on pupils and on girls in particular, discouraging them from participation in class.

Gender stereotypes persisted, particularly among pupils, about male superiority and greater physical strength, which may limit girls' successful participation and outcomes in school and put undue pressure on boys to live up to these ideals.

CHAPTER 9 SCHOOL–COMMUNITY RELATIONS

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at relations between the school and the community, focusing directly on the case study schools. We use the notion of ‘community’ fairly broadly to include the geographical community in which the school is located, as well as the community, or communities, of parents. These two communities overlap to varying degrees depending on the case study school. The chapter starts with a brief overview of the socio-economic context followed by the general health issues pupils and communities face. As the 2010 NEDS succinctly summarised:

School-age children suffer from nutritional problems that may affect their physical and cognitive development, as well as their capacity to attend school, stay in school, and learn while attending school. Previous research has found correlations between nutrition and school enrolment/attendance, performance in school, age-of-entry, absenteeism, repetition, and dropout (NPC and RTI International, 2011, pp. 37–38).

The survey showed that many children in Nigeria aged 4–10 were malnourished, again considerably more in rural and northern regions, and speculated that the discontinuation of the Home Grown School Feeding programme in the majority of states may have helped discourage additional enrolment after 2007 (*ibid.*, p.4). In the same survey ill health was by far the most commonly cited reason for missing school, given by over a third of primary school respondents. In a study on girls’ education in eight states in Nigeria, illness was also identified as a major obstacle to schooling among 44% of respondents (Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011).

Next, attention is focused on family practices regarding children’s work – both paid and unpaid. Studies have shown that girls are usually engaged in more household tasks and for longer and more often cite such work as reasons for being absent from school (UNESCO, 2003) whereas boys’ greater access to income-generating activities or the greater demand made by families for male labour for certain agricultural work is often the reason that they eventually drop out of school (*ibid.*).

The discussion then turns to parenting, parental attitudes towards formal education, and issues of parental choice in terms of which school and which child(ren) are sent to school, particularly in relation to gender. As highlighted in Chapter 3, historically, formal education in Nigeria (and elsewhere) has been associated with Christianity (Iro, 2001; Rufa’i 2006, cited in Akyeampong *et al.*, 2009; FME 2008, cited in Hoechner, 2011), and more recently with “westernisation” (Academy for Educational Development, 2002; Bray, 2003). Muslim communities in West Africa (including Nigeria) are often implicitly criticised for not wanting girls in particular to go to school in case they are subject to harmful western influences (Avotri *et al.*, 2000; Academy for Educational Development, 2002).

Next, the importance of school quality is raised as research in Nigeria has shown that even poor parents are prepared to make sacrifices to send their children to school (Lincove, 2009; Härma, 2011b) provided the quality (however that may be determined) is perceived to be adequate (Sunal *et al.*, 2003). Data from the 2010 NEDS back this up. For example, when parents/guardians were asked to identify the main consideration for school selection, cost was only cited by 13% of households whereas school quality was cited by 30% of respondents (NPC and RTI International, 2011).

Community representation and community ‘voice’ are considered next, particularly in relation to the PTA and SBMC. Studies in the ESSPIN states have found that SBMCs have yet to be established in many areas (Antononis, 2010; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011), that the different

roles of PTAs and SBMCs are often overlapping and/or unclear (Poulsen, 2009), and that both committees often lack participation from the ordinary community member (Poulsen, 2009; Williams, 2009).

School–community relations more generally are considered next. Although several studies give examples of positive efforts to support schools by community or other organisations, such as the Fulani Commission (see Urwick, 2002; Sherry, 2008; Poulsen, 2009), they also highlight tensions between schools and communities. Teachers often have a deficit view of parents, claiming they do not value education, and do not listen to teachers’ views on their childrens’ capabilities (Sherry, 2008); conversely, some parents and community members see teachers as lacking the requisite qualifications, commitment and professionalism (*ibid.*). Studies elsewhere in SSA have shown that poor parent-teacher relations can be associated with pupil non-enrolment and dropout (e.g. Engelbrecht *et al.*, 2005, in South Africa; Pryor, 2005, in Ghana).

The chapter concludes by looking at LGEA involvement in school–community relations before concluding by summarising the implications of the various aspects of school–community relations as regards school access.

9.2 COMMUNITY PROFILES

9.2.1 Socio-economic context

As described in Chapter 2, the six case study primary schools were spread out across the three senatorial zones of Adamawa State: two in the north, two in the south and two in the central zone. Two schools were rural; four were urban, one of which was in a large central urban area, with the other three in smaller, and/or less central urban areas (see Chapter 2.5 for a pen picture of each case study and Appendix I for more detail). Apart from the most urbanised school where most parents were traders, in the other five schools most parents were farmers involved in subsistence agriculture and/or animal husbandry, with a sprinkling of petty traders, civil servants and families from fishing communities. High levels of household poverty were reported across the case study schools and LGEAs. The predominant farming communities have a lifestyle that demands periods of intensive labour during the rainy season (generally June to December), which in terms of income and survival is non-negotiable.

9.2.2 Health issues

With such widespread poverty reported, it was unsurprising that pupils groups across all six schools said they were sometimes absent from school due to ill health, which was confirmed by other respondents and identified as an LGEA-wide issue by two education secretaries [N2, S1]. Pupils, and girls in particular, were also said to miss school on occasions to care for a sick relative [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. Hunger too was explicitly identified in all schools as a major reason for pupil absenteeism or late coming as pupils either waited for food to be served at home or had to go out and find food before class. The problem seemed to be particularly acute in Domingo Primary School. Hunger was also identified as a reason for some children leaving school during school hours [DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB]; some did not return [BAOBAB]. It was thought to cause dropout among a small minority in one LGEA [N2]. It was also recognised that lack of food has an adverse effect on children’s learning [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI]; teachers in one school reported having to discuss the matter with parents, urging them to feed their children “no matter the hardship.” [DOMINGO]. As the head teacher also pointed out: “Hunger stops pupils from learning at school.”

Figures from the 2010 NEDS for the North East also indicated that around 10% of households knew children in the community they believed were absent from school because a parent or

guardian was ill with either HIV or AIDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) though in our study neither HIV or AIDS was raised as a factor in absenteeism though this might have been because of the associated stigma. The lack of adequate toilet facilities or available water was noted in the case study schools and more widely across Adamawa schools (see Chapter 5). There is potential to improve these and thereby support more healthy conditions in schools for both teacher and pupils.

9.3 FAMILY PRACTICES

9.3.1 Children's work

The need for children to work rather than attend school was identified as a major factor in non-enrolment, absenteeism, repetition and dropout across the six schools, and more widely across the LGEAS. Farming affected pupils in all but the most urban school, especially during the rainy season, generally June to December but April to October in one school [DOYA]. For fishing communities in one school and LGEA, the peak seasons were September to November and February to March [BAOBAB]. Planting and harvesting were identified as the busiest times, especially harvesting when extra paid work was said to be available [DOYA, BAOBAB]. Labour activities were often gendered. While both girls and boys were needed to plant and harvest crops during the rainy season boys were more often identified as needing to work in the fields or to tend cattle both before and during school hours, resulting in late coming or absenteeism [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI DOYA, BAOBAB,]. Children of Higgi and nomadic Hausa-Fulani parents, in particular, were said to be absent from school for many months as they move their livestock [DOMINGO, KILFI]. Pupils reportedly both work on their family land [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB] – with some pupils having their own fields to cultivate [DOYA] – but some also earned money on other people's farms [DOYA, BAOBAB]. One ES explained that rearing cattle for a year would earn a boy a cow in payment [DOYA]. Moreover, some children, particularly overage pupils (arguably young adults), were already economically self-supporting [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI]. Importantly, in Nigeria children needing to work long hours has also been associated with ill health (UNICEF, 2006), which, as noted above, also relates to hunger and poverty.

In all six schools petty trading was also a cause of absenteeism, especially on market days, and eventual dropout, among boys in particular [KANTI, BAOBAB, KILFI]. Some boys were said to move away from home to try their hand at business, returning as overage pupils if they do not succeed [DOYA, BAOBAB, DOMINGO]. Absenteeism and dropout among some boys in more urban areas was also due to taking on apprenticeships as mechanics, welders or electricians [DOMINGO, METRO, BAOBAB]. In the most urban school, (some) Christian boys were said to be late for school because they have to open up their parents' business whereas some Christian (Igbo) girls who worked as maids were sometimes late or absent because they had to run errands for their employees [METRO]. Across all six schools some girls were said to miss or drop out of school to hawk goods, which reportedly applied to Muslim girls in particular [METRO, DOYA, BAOBAB], sometimes to earn money for their marriage [BAOBAB], echoing findings in Robson's (2004) ethnographic study of a community in Hausaland.

Pupils were said not to enrol in school or to drop out to earn money for a variety of reasons. In many cases, across all six case studies, they were following parental wishes, often driven by financial necessity. In some cases, parental attitudes towards schooling also played a role (see below). At other times, pupils themselves decided to miss school or drop out, sometimes without parental knowledge [ALL SCHOOLS]. In many cases respondents were unaware of the reasons why some pupils, and boys in particular, dropped out of school to work [KANTI, DOMINGO, BAOBAB,]. This is consistent with other studies in SSA (Dunne, Akyeampong and Humphreys, 2007). In some cases it was attributed to children not liking school [METRO, DOYA, BAOBAB] (see

Chapter 7) or because finishing school was perceived to make no difference to their chances of getting employed [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA,]. It was also suggested that some boys simply preferred earning money to being in school [KANTI, BAOBAB].

Household chores also impacted heavily on school punctuality, attendance and retention. It was widely recognised among respondents across all six schools that although both girls and boys undertook household chores, girls were more affected as they had more tasks to do. In one school Muslim girls in particular were singled out [DOMINGO], perhaps because some may have to fit in Qur'anic schooling as well as domestic chores before coming to class. As a result of household chores, girls were said to have less time to complete homework [KILFI] and suffered in terms of exam performance [DOYA]. In one extreme case, a teacher reported that one female pupil usually got up at 3.30am to begin her chores and as a result was often asleep in class [METRO]. In another school, parents complained that school started too early for pupils to be able to complete their chores. [BAOBAB]. In addition, as Robson (2004) found in her study, some girls also have to stay at home to look after newly born and younger siblings [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA], while the mother goes out to work. In addition, as mentioned above, girls sometimes had to look after sick relatives [BAOBAB, KILFI, DOMINGO].

9.3.2 Parenting

Lack of parental supervision by some parents was seen as a cause of latecoming, absenteeism and dropout across all six schools, to varying degrees, and often more widely across the LGEA. LGEA, school and PTA/SMBC members in particular were often most critical of (some) parents although some pupils and parents also admitted it was a problem. Specifically, some parents were said to be sending children on errands when they should be going to school [BAOBAB], not getting children to bed or waking them up on time [DOYA, BAOBAB], and/or not ensuring that they reach school [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. Parents were said to be unaware sometimes that their children/wards were absent from, or had dropped out of school [KANTI, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. Some children apparently left home dressed for school and took their uniform off on the way [METRO, BAOBAB]. Although there was mention in one school of girls staying out "playing" [DOYA], it was commonly agreed that girls' activities were generally more closely monitored at home whereas boys were less supervised, and/or boys were less easily controlled [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. As a result, some boys reportedly stayed out late at night playing, or got "distracted" on the way to school, playing around, or drifting off to watch football on TV, drink or smoke or hang out with bad company [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. In a couple of schools this was ascribed to their giving in to peer pressure [KANTI, KILFI].

On the other hand, there was only limited recognition that because many parents work long hours, especially farming during the rainy season [KANTI, METRO] and/or because fathers may be away from home for long periods looking for work, it is difficult to supervise children [KANTI, BAOBAB]. As the following two parents explained:

Mu iyaye, laifinmu shine; bamu da lokachi mu lura da zuwan yaranmu makaranta. Iyaye mata kuma suna chikin tare tare da aikin gida, baza su sami lokachin yin ma yara magana su tafi da wuri ba" [Our problem as parents is that we are always busy with work to monitor our children going to school early. Mothers are also busy with home chores; they will not have time to ensure children go to school early]. (male parent, METRO)

I am a farmer both seasonal and dry season. I leave home very early every morning and return in the evenings so that my family can feed. (male parent, BAOBAB)

Indeed there was frequent mention that some children were "fending for themselves" at home [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI]. As a PTA member of one school pointed out, it was no

surprise that pupils were not in school when some of them had even left home: “Some children even left home completely, how much less of [let alone] school?” [DOMINGO].

However, there was also some acknowledgement that some parents were active in ensuring that their charges reached and/or stayed in school and in disciplining them for absenteeism [DOMINGO, BAOBAB,]. There was an expectation among some school respondents that parents should also help with, or check, their children’s homework [DOMINGO, METRO] although other respondents complained that some family members did the homework for the children rather than assisting them to do it [METRO, DOYA]. Many pupils interviewed said parents or siblings could help them with homework [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA] but it was thought that (some) Muslim pupils, more than Christian pupils, had nobody at home who could help [DOMINGO, DOYA], which was thought to disadvantage these pupils in their studies [DOYA].

9.3.3 Educational choice and parent and community attitudes to schooling

Parental attitudes were said to be changing among more conservative parents, both Christian and Muslim, who had previously been against sending their children to school [METRO, BAOBAB, DOMINGO], especially girls. [METRO, DOMINGO]. This was attributed in varying degrees to successful collaborations in social mobilisation campaigns run by LGEAs, the Board and community leaders (see below). Even so, enrolments were still said to be particularly low among nomadic Hausa-Fulani [METRO, KILFI, DOMINGO], especially girls [METRO] and among Muslim Chamba girls [DOYA].

Despite increases in primary school enrolments, and reports of changing attitudes among some parents, it was recognised across all six case studies that some communities and/or parents were still not convinced about the value of formal education. LGEA and school respondents in particular complained that non- or late enrolment, withdrawal or dropout of some pupils from public school was due to “negative parental attitudes”. In five schools these reportedly ranged from active dislike to what officials referred to as an “I-don’t-care attitude” towards what was universally termed as “western education”, especially by (some) Muslim parents [DOMINGO, KILFI, METRO, DOYA, KANTI]. (Some) nomadic Hausa-Fulani were also singled out as being against formal education [KILFI].

Some Muslim parents were said to perceive public schools as corrupting influences [KILFI, BAOBAB]. One LGEA official explained: “There are some communities that think that western education corrupts their culture.” However, with reference to nomadic Fulani, one Board member felt that the issue related to economics more than to religious conviction and that if education did not help them to meet their economic needs then it would not be perceived to be useful: “If there is no economic benefit then even my religion, I will abandon my religion.”

In contrast, in one school, LGEA officials felt there was a greater commitment to formal education among the Christian parents [DOMINGO]. Nevertheless, some Christian communities were also identified as being against formal education. One senior LGEA official disclosed that in mountain communities some Higgi parents did not allow their children to go to school because of a long-held belief that any kind of schooling was negatively associated with the conquering Fulani leader Hamman Yaji (Ruler of Madagali from 1912–1927), who had tried to convert villagers to Islam.

Some parents who were said to be against sending children to school reportedly voiced a more pragmatic view that formal education has no value if school-leavers were going to be unemployed [DOYA, KANTI, METRO]. Some respondents therefore urged government to increase employment opportunities, in the belief that it would help boost school enrolment and

retention [DOYA]. On the other hand, other parents believed that precisely because they did not have the opportunity to go to school, their children should have that opportunity [KANTI, METRO, BAOBAB]. The following quotes are typical of a number of parents interviewed:

We are from Sokoto; our parents ran away from there because they were forced to take us to school but they preferred us to go and rear animals or farm. Today we are regret[ful] and that is why I have all my children in school. Most are girls. (parent, BAOBAB)

I regret not to have gone to school to be educated today. I would have been a better person today; our parents have cheated us but my children must all go to school. (parent, BAOBAB)

As Sunal *et al.* (2003) noted in their study, school quality is an important factor in whether pupils are enrolled in school, and that even very poor parents are prepared to pay for schooling provided they think the quality is good. In the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) too school quality was mentioned by 28.6% of respondents in the North East as an important factor in whether children were enrolled in school. In the same survey, school quality was also mentioned by 10.9% of respondents in the North East as a reason for children dropping out of school although school quality might also have been a factor for the 19.9% who were said to have dropped out because of “lack of interest” in school. School quality was only explicitly mentioned in one of the case study schools as a factor affecting pupil enrolment and retention [KILFI]. However, issues commonly equated with school quality were commonly mentioned, such as teachers not being in the classroom [KILFI, METRO, DOMINGO, KANTI], and pupil treatment, particularly the excessive use of corporal punishment, [DOMINGO, DOYA] or pupil bullying [ALL SCHOOLS]. Given these issues, it may be that some parents, and/or children, were not necessarily against formal schooling *per se*, just not in favour of what was on offer. As one Board member put it:

I’m assuring you that if these children are getting what they should get in school, like proper tuition, proper learning, they will always object to being asked to go to the farm.

Decisions about which school to send children to, and which children to educate, often depended on one or more of the following factors: school availability (see also Chapter 5); perceptions about what we might term school quality (e.g. infrastructure, resources, teaching and classroom relations); household financial constraints; religious considerations; or a combination of the above. Educational choice varied among the case studies with more public and private schools available in the more urban areas. In the one wholly Christian village in the sample, the case study public primary school was the only school in the immediate vicinity and the only available private school was the church-run nursery school. A new public school was said to be necessary [KANTI]. On the other hand, in the most urbanised area, there were numerous public and private primary schools, both secular and religious [METRO]. In all the other case study areas, other schools were available, particularly Islamiyya or Tsangaya schools. Private schooling, including Islamiyya schools, was generally seen as more desirable since the quality was perceived to be better, but considered too expensive for most community members [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB,]. In a couple of the case study schools the declining number of Christian pupils was attributed to some Christian parents withdrawing children to send to private school [DOMINGO, METRO].

Distance to school was also a consideration in school choice [KILFI], echoing findings in the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011), in which over three quarters of respondents in the North East said they chose the closest school with availability (see also Chapters 4 & 5). The state of the school infrastructure also affected parental choice; new buildings and facilities were said to have influenced some parents to send their children to the case study school [METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB] (see also Chapter 5).

Although some Muslim parents reportedly preferred their children to have a purely Qur'anic education, others tried to combine Islamic and public schooling either by sending their children to Islamiyya schools, which include secular subjects in the curriculum, or by combining Tsangaya schooling with public schooling [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB,]. This generally entailed sending children to Qur'anic school in the morning before public school began. Alternatively, as reported in two case study schools, boys underwent Qur'anic schooling until the age of ten or twelve, sometimes in another town under the tutelage of an itinerant *mallam*, before returning home and being enrolled as significantly overage pupils in a public primary school [DOMINGO, METRO], with all the attendant disadvantages of being more susceptible to bullying and less likely to complete schooling (see Chapters 7, section 7.3.5 and Chapter 8, Section 8.3.1). Pupils attending Qur'anic school before public school often arrived late, which often resulted in their missing lessons and/or being punished [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB] (see also Chapter 7). In one school it was reported that some children are later withdrawn to attend Tsangaya school full time [BAOBAB]. Some teachers and one LGEA official thought there should be greater communication with the *mallams* to persuade them to hold Qur'anic schooling in the evening [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI], which would help reduce persistent latecoming. ADSUBEB's initiative to establish more new fully-funded government Islamiyya schools in each senatorial district will be important in helping address some of the above issues which are currently hindering the formal education of some Muslim pupils (Board Member) (see Chapter 4).

Evidence in the study also hinted that some parents may also withdraw their children/wards on account of issues regarding school quality, as the following statements suggest:

Some parents know [about dropout] and some don't while some of the children it is the parents that take them out of school when their children make complaints to them. (pupil, KILFI)

Some parents have transferred their children to another school on account of the beating. (SBMC member, DOMINGO)

Pupils do not like to go to school and instead of leaving them idle, we [parents] engage them in business, selling soup items fried groundnut etc., at least to make money for the family. (parent, BAOBAB)

Girls' schooling

The other main choice parents have to make as regards sending children to school relates to which children to send. Historically, girls, and Muslim girls in particular, have been less likely to be formally educated than boys in Nigeria (Rufa'i 2006, cited in Akyeampong *et al.*, 2009). Despite question marks about the reliability of some of the figures, enrolment statistics in the case study schools and LGEAs indicate that the numbers of girls in particular have been increasing over the last few years (See Chapter 8, Section 4.8). Of particular note is the fact that ADSUBEB has now established 19 girls-only primary schools, providing uniforms, instructional materials and all-female staff because female teachers are thought to act as important role models for girls, thereby helping to boost the enrolment of female pupils (FME, 2007a; USAID, 2009).

The qualitative data have also provided evidence of increasingly positive attitudes among many parents regarding sending girls to school [DOMINGO, METRO, BAOBAB]. Nevertheless, traditional attitudes were found to persist among many respondents, based on gender-stereotyped views that consider boys' education to be more important because boys are going to be the main breadwinners, become heads of families [KANTI, KILFI] and have better job prospects [DOMINGO], whereas girls are going to get married and leave the family [KANTI, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB], or are less likely to find jobs [DOYA]. Counter-arguments were put forward by some in favour of educating girls though they too were often similarly instrumental and gender-stereotyped, such as educating girls in order for them to get a good husband, or to enable them to help their husband [KANTI, BAOBAB], or because girls are thought more likely to pass on their

knowledge to children [METRO], and care for parents [KANTI]. The following comments illustrate the range of views:

Boys' education and progress is [for] my own progress [benefit], but girls will soon get married to someone. (male parent, KILFI)

Mata sun fi maza kula da iyaye ; wane namiji ne zai tashi yaje wajen mamansa yace; mama me yake damun ki? [Females take good care of parents more than males; which man will go to his mother and ask her: Mama what is disturbing you?] (female parent, KANTI)

Educating one girl means educating a nation whereas the boys will be busy looking after their business. (male parent, METRO)

Here we say girls' education ends up in their husband's kitchen, so the girls know that whatever they do, they will end up getting married; they get discouraged about furthering their education. (male teacher, DOYA)

The belief that women's education ends in the kitchen is no longer true. (female teacher, METRO)

Women's education is a waste of the little money the family has. (male PTA committee member)

One head teacher, however, said that it was important for girls to be educated for themselves. Interestingly, pupil views were also mixed about the relative merits of educating boys and girls, reflecting similar gender-stereotyped arguments.

Although two ADSUBEB interviewees pointed out that the average age at which girls and boys get married is gradually increasing, in all case study schools there were reports of girls – both Christian and Muslim – dropping out of primary school due to pregnancy and, more often, marriage, a trend which was acknowledged by several Board members. Some Muslim boys too were also said to drop out to marry, but often returned to school as overage pupils [METRO, BAOBAB]. It is worth noting that in Sunal *et al.*'s (2003) interview-based study, parents admitted that even if in principle they wanted all children to go to school, when money was tight decisions had to be made about who to school (see also Bakari, 2011).

Three Board members also mentioned that girls were sometimes not enrolled in school for fear of sexual harassment or assault by boys on the way to school, and even by some male teachers (albeit a small minority). One Board member also thought that the risk of a child being kidnapped for rituals was a factor, although they added that the chance of that happening was very small. In the 2010 NEDS too, it was noted that just over 16% of respondents in the North East thought safety was a serious issue in school (although the exact nature of the of this was a little vague) though the vast majority thought it was not a problem.

Chapter 4 gives details of the primary school building development in Adamawa, in which ADSUBEB has constructed or rehabilitated just under 6,000 classrooms, built 1,240 new toilets and 312 new primary school since 2007, which are all highlighted as helping to minimise the risk to girls (and boys) by decreasing the distance they have to walk to reach school [ADSUBEB member].

9.4 COMMUNITY REPRESENTATION AND 'VOICE' (PTAS AND SBMCS)

Community views and representation primarily occurred through the PTA, and to a lesser extent the SBMC. As Table 9.1 illustrates, PTAs were said to be active in five schools, whereas SBMCs were only either newly formed or minimally active across all schools. The size of the PTA executive ranged from 5–8 whereas the SBMC varied between 6–19 members. Male

representation was greater on all PTA and particularly on SBMC executive committees. According to one Board member, there was generally greater female representation on SBMCs in Christian communities. Nomadic communities, however, had raised specific objection to the imposition of female representation on SBMCs [ADSUBEB officials]. The chair on all PTA committees and SBMCs were also male, as were the main post holders, such as secretary and treasurer, in the cases where such data were gathered. In one school, SBMC membership had followed ministry guidelines by nominally including the head girl and head boy on the executive membership list although in practice they did not participate [KANTI].

Table 9.1 PTAs and SBMCs in the case study schools

	Kanti	Domingo	Metro	Kilfi	Doya	Baobab
PTA	active	active	inactive	active	active	active (but not in LGEA)
PTA executive	8 (F:2; M:6)	5 (F:2; M:3)	N/A	8 (F:2; M:6)	–	7 (F:3; M:4)
Main issues discussed	classroom & toilet construction, pupils' health, school uniforms	furniture repairs, pots for water	N/A	Renovations, desk repairs, school security, uniforms, attendance, latecoming, enrolment	decline of education in village, uniforms, improving enrolment	increasing female enrolment
Recent actions	renovated windows, doors, benches & roofs	assisted management	N/A	register checks home visits to absent pupils	–	not given
SBMC	recently reactivated	newly formed, "weak"	newly formed	newly formed	–	minimally active
SBMC executive	19 (F:2; M:17)	6 (F:2; M:4)	7 (F:2; M:5)	15 (F:3; M:12)	17 (F:2; M:15)	10 (F:3; M:7)
Main issues discussed	pupil lateness, attendance & dropout, fund-raising, building classrooms	new members, toilets	potable water, pupils' performance	assess school needs, improve infrastructure	drug & alcohol abuse among children, pupil performance	counselling parents on early marriage
Recent actions	started classroom construction	assisted with management	none	repaired roof, hand pump & generator	none	none

Sources: Information collated primarily from the school and community profile (completed by the head teacher) together with interview data from the PTA, SMBC and head teacher.

From the case study evidence the PTAs fulfilled three main functions: they provided a means of communication (and sometimes mediation) between the school and the community; they raised funds, material and labour for infrastructural development and school-related activities; and they gave the community a 'voice' in the school.

As regards the first function, where PTAs were operative they clearly provided the main means of communication between the school and the community, though the direction of communication was principally from the school to the community (see below) [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. Moreover, several schools noted that attendance at PTA meetings was low [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. One school got around low parental attendance by selecting representatives from each ward, who are contacted by the school via the ward heads to

feed back information to other parents [KILFI]. In all six schools ward heads, who were sometimes also on the PTA committee, were said to provide important links between the school and community, and were often responsible for calling community meetings. This is discussed further below (see Section 9.5).

The second and related function of the PTA was to give community members a ‘voice’ in the school, in particular raising issues of concern to the community with the head teacher. Examples of issues raised by the PTA were less widely cited but included: asking for attendance registers to be displayed in school [KILFI] and improving security [KILFI], both of which had been addressed; complaining about the cost of school uniform requirements and teaching materials [KILFI]; requesting more (and qualified) teachers [DOYA]; asking teachers to teach, rather than sit around outside [BAOBAB]. Similar concerns were raised by parents in interviews at other schools, in addition to other issues, though it was not clear whether they had raised these issues with the PTA or the school in question. Table 9.1 above outlines the issues reportedly discussed at PTA committee meetings, which in addition to the issues mentioned above also include concerns about pupils’ health [KANTI] and drug and alcohol abuse among children [DOYA]. However, it is not known whether the issues mentioned were raised by parents, or by the school, or both, and no indication what action, if any, has been taken to try and address the issues.

Parents interviewed across the schools generally thought that the PTA did a good job of representing their views and concerns to the school [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. However, as reported in Chapter 2, among the very small sample of parents interviewed there was sometimes minimal or no representation from more marginalised groups within the school community (e.g. women, nomads or ethnic minorities). Besides, given that the parents were generally selected for interview by the school, they are likely to have been more involved in school than the average parent. As participation was said to be low at PTA meetings in four of the case study schools (see above), it is likely that the ‘voice’ of the ordinary community member, who is too busy working to attend meetings, is not heard.

That said, concerns were raised by parents in three schools about transparency and accountability regarding management of PTA funds [KANTI, METRO, BAOBAB] though again it was not clear whether these concerns had been articulated at PTA meetings, and if so what steps were being taken to increase transparency. Parents in one school also said they were reluctant to take up specific cases involving their child/ward with the school in case their child was then victimised at school [BAOBAB]. As a result, they said most parents do not follow up on complaints about the school. On the other hand, in another school, some parents reportedly took matters into their own hands, as regards tackling teachers about corporal punishment, rather than go through the PTA [DOMINGO]. This might be because the PTA does not always take the side of parents in cases of conflict or disagreement, an issue that is discussed further in the next section.

SBMCs, in contrast, were not mentioned by parents in interviews, and scarcely mentioned by other community members, which is not surprising because, as Table 9.1 shows, they had either been newly formed or were inactive. Head teachers and LGEA officials had more to say about them; this is discussed in more detail in Section 9.6.

9.5 SCHOOL–COMMUNITY RELATIONS

A review of research within SSA (and elsewhere) has shown that community participation works well in the rare instances where there are good understandings and relations between schools, communities and local educational authorities and a genuine commitment to community decision-making (Dunne, Akyeampong & Humphreys, 2007; see for example the Academy for Academic Development, 2002, and De Grauwe *et al.*, 2005, on some countries in West Africa). However, as found in the ESSPIN states (see Poulsen, 2009), and in this study, the direction of communication between schools and communities is generally unidirectional, from the school to the community, usually via the PTA and/or community leaders. Schools passed on information to parents; schools made requests for extra funding or other assistance for projects; and schools sometimes chastised parents for not “co-operating” with the school. Although there were a few examples of parents complaining to and/or making demands of schools (see below), parents seemed to expect schools to tell them how to help [METRO].

Community meetings were generally convened through the PTA and/or ward heads to talk, or complain to parents about pupil late coming, absenteeism, dropout or enrolment [KANTI, DOMINGO KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB,], pupils’ lack of uniform and/or writing materials [KANTI, KILFI, BAOBAB], encroachment on school land [DOMINGO], or if the school wanted something done in the way of school development [METRO, DOMINGO]. Religious leaders were also identified by schools as important in communicating with communities [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI] though there was recognition that there needed to be greater involvement of religious leaders [DOMINGO, KILFI].

School–community relations were typically described as “cordial” by head teachers [DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA, BAOBAB] and “good” in a couple of cases [KANTI, KILFI] though other respondents varied in their assessment and there were clearly points of tension between schools and communities, or at least with some sections of communities. These often related to land access and included bringing animals through school grounds [DOYA], driving motorbikes or cars through or near the school premises [KANTI, DOMINGO, BAOBAB], dumping rubbish in school grounds [DOMINGO, BAOBAB], vandalism and/or out-of-hours use of school property by young people, including using the place as a toilet [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB] and smoking Indian hemp (cannabis) and/or drinking alcohol [KANTI, DOYA, BAOBAB].

There was also tension between schools and (some) parents regarding pupil latecoming and/or absenteeism on account of children attending Qur’anic school [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB], labouring on the farm or tending cattle [KANTI, DOMINGO, BAOBAB, KILFI, DOYA], petty trading or hawking [ALL SCHOOLS], doing home chores [ALL SCHOOLS], or on account of apparent lack of parental supervision to ensure pupils get to school, and arrive on time [ALL SCHOOLS]. In addition, there were also tensions between some parents and schools in relation to teacher absenteeism [KANTI], corporal punishment [DOMINGO, DOYA], school uniform [KILFI], and pressure for parents to provide textbooks [BAOBAB], as discussed in earlier chapters.

Views differed among respondents in two schools as to the degree of communication between the school and the community [DOMINGO, DOYA]. In one school parents noted that the school encouraged parents to make comments and suggestions about the school [METRO] though the more widespread view was that school–community communication and relations needed to be improved [DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA]. In two of the cases even pupils brought up the matter. Further exploration of the calls for “greater dialogue” or “collaboration” between schools and parents were predominantly understood in terms of telling parents what to do, as the following quotes illustrate:

Let there be announcements telling children to come back to school. Their parents should be called upon so that they can be advised to bring their children to school. (DOYA teacher, on greater school-parent collaboration)

Idan an bamu zarafi, zamu inganta sadaswa stakanin malamai da iyayaye da kuma masu anguwa. Domin I dan yaro bai zo makaranta ba, yakamata malamai su gaya wa iyaye ta wurin masu anguwanne. Kuma idan malamai suna da wani magana sai su gaya wa masu anguwanne, su kuma sai su gaya wa iyaye. [If given the chance, we will improve communication between teachers and parents through the ward heads. Whenever a child does not come to school, it will be proper for teachers to inform his parents through the ward head. What's more, if teachers have something they want to communicate, let them tell the ward heads and the ward heads will tell the parents.] (parent, METRO)

School–community relations in all schools were generally at their strongest in terms of communities providing funds, materials and/or labour for school infrastructural development as community and school members agreed on the importance of improving and maintaining school infrastructure. Such developments were funded by the termly PTA levies paid by parents and other adhoc payments, usually for specific projects. Even so there were differences of opinion over the extent to which parents and communities, rather than government, should be funding developments. The following quotes reflect the range of views:

Community people are poor and can't repair it [the school gate]. Some fathers leave their home for three to four days to look for money. Are you expecting the community to repair it? (parent, BAOBAB)

The community needs to help financially. We cannot wait for government to do everything. (parent, BAOBAB)

If you look at our school, there is nothing from the community. During raining season, most of the classes are leaking. (teacher, DOMINGO)

It was also noticeable that the PTA members sometimes seemed to take the side of the school in disputes rather than support the parents. For example in one school, parents had reportedly made their views known about school costs, including uniforms, being a barrier to access but the PTA had responded that school rules demanded that pupils wear uniform [KILFI]. In another case, the PTA reported having to mediate between teachers and some parents regarding corporal punishment, yet there was no suggestion that they upheld the parents' complaints, even though, as researcher observations confirmed, there was considerable unregulated beating of pupils being carried out in the school [DOMINGO].

As highlighted in this chapter's introduction, the national study of teachers' voice (Sherry, 2008) found that teachers in Nigeria often have a deficit view of parents, claiming they do not value education, and do not listen to teachers' views on their children's capabilities whereas parents and community members see teachers as lacking the requisite qualifications, commitment and professionalism. In this study, the parents interviewed were less forthcoming about openly criticising teachers; however, (some) teachers, LGEA officials, SBMC and PTA members, community leaders and even some parents and pupils were more forthright in expressing their deficit views of parents who were perceived to have negative attitudes towards the school. Such parents were described as "not co-operating" "ignorant" and/or with an "I-don't-care attitude" [ALL SCHOOLS].

There was almost no acknowledgement among respondents that issues regarding school quality (e.g. absent teachers, excessive corporal punishment, overcrowded classrooms), which were brought up by respondents, might, at least in part, explain why some parents had negative attitudes towards the school and/or a preference for children to work. Since only parents with

children in the case study schools were interviewed in this research, this is certainly an area that merits further research.

An important assumption that seemed to underpin school–community relations was that school priorities come first. Thus, even though it was recognised that some parents could not afford uniforms or writing materials, or needed children to work or look after siblings, or wanted to ensure a Qur’anic education for their children (as highlighted earlier in the chapter), the bottom line argument was that parents should send pupils to public school on the school’s terms. There was very little evidence of schools showing flexibility towards parental and community needs or preferences. One notable exception was the school that allowed Primary 1 children to come to school without uniform and writing materials as a means of increasing enrolment [DOYA].

9.6 LGEA INVOLVEMENT

The LGEAs’ main involvement with communities was community mobilisation, in particular to increase pupil enrolment [ALL SCHOOLS], especially of girls [DOMINGO, METRO, BAOBAB], which Board members who were interviewed confirmed was a priority and had achieved great success. Methods have included house-to-house visits [BAOBAB] and addressing communities in mosques and churches [DOYA] to discourage parents from arranging early marriages. In the words of one ES: “Parents are sensitized about early marriage, early pregnancy, [the] importance of education, especially for the girl child, early pregnancies and HIV /AIDS”. One group of parents wanted more female motivational speakers who have achieved success through education to be invited to community meetings to encourage other parents to send girls to school [DOMINGO]. This one Board member confirmed to be one of ADSUBEB’s strategies to get more girls into school (see also Para-Mallam, 2010; Ojoje, 2011). Other mobilisation efforts directed at parents, and reported by the LGEA, included encouraging pupils to be punctual, to attend regularly and to bring writing materials [BAOBAB].

LGEA officials also mediated between the school and community, usually on behalf of the school, such as negotiating with community leaders to get community members to stop dumping rubbish or building in the school compound [METRO, BAOBAB], or resolving a school–community dispute regarding school access to water [KANTI].

LGEA officials were the respondents most likely to talk about the SBMC. Although SBMCs were reportedly either inactive or newly formed in the case study schools (see Table 9.1), LGEA officials reported attending SBMC meetings in other schools and SBMC representation was said to exist on the district and local education committees in one LGEA [C2]. District education committees, however, were said not to be functioning in two LGEAs [N1, N2] and elsewhere were not mentioned. As found in the ESSPIN states (see Poulsen, 2009; Williams, 2009), it was not clear what the differing roles and responsibilities were of these various committees.

Officials in two LGEAs mentioned SBMCs as being important bodies in school governance, with calls for even greater involvement of SBMCs [DOMINGO, DOYA] although the only specific functions of the SBMCs mentioned in the study related not so much to governance but to mobilising funds for development projects [DOMINGO, BAOBAB] or to community sensitisation [KILFI]. As in Poulsen’s (2009) case study research in ten schools and communities in the ESSPIN states, LGEA officials in Adamawa seemed to imply that SBMCs were accountable to LGEAs although as Poulsen also pointed out (*ibid.*), LGEAs did not provide any resources, nor did they have any mandate according to the SBMC Guidance Notes. As one LGEA official put it with regards to the SBMC’s role: “I do ask the community to do whatever they can do to assist the school before government can come in.” Another said: “Communities should participate in running the school like in classroom construction, providing shelter to the schools; you know

some communities do.” One Board member emphasised that encouraging communities to engage in self-help projects was one of the main functions of the social mobilization brief within Adamawa: “Active involvement of the community in the self-help projects has demonstrated the success of the mobilization.” However, as Poulsen (2009) also points out, this will result in greater educational inequalities among schools because schools in poorer communities will receive less financial support for the school.

Only in one LGEA did the ES say that the SBMCs dealt directly with schools with no LGEA involvement [METRO]. If the main function of SBMCs in practice continues to be fund raising and social mobilisation, ordinary community members, and women in particular, are less likely to be involved as their earning and lobbying potential is generally more limited. Notably, all ten SBMC interviewees (from five of the case study schools) were male.

One research team member attended part of a state-wide conference on SBMCs with senior LGEA officials in Yola, from which it was apparent that there is still a lack of clarity among some officials as to the different roles and responsibilities of PTAs and SBMCs, and that guidelines for membership were neither clear, nor were being followed in all cases. It was therefore not surprising that there was variation and a similar lack of clarity among the case study schools and LGEAs.

Other key people in communities that LGEA officials reportedly interacted with included ward heads, village heads and other community and religious leaders [ALL SCHOOLS]. Even so there were calls for further involvement of religious leaders by LGEAs and/or schools [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI].

Yet while there was clearly some level of interaction between LGEAs, community leaders and PTA committee members, there was less agreement between parents and LGEA officials as to the degree of contact the ordinary community member had with the LGEA and the amount of consultation, with some parents claiming no or little contact with the LGEA [KANTI, KILFI, BAOBAB]. There were several calls for greater community consultation by the LGEA [DOMINGO, DOYA, KANTI] and even a suggestion from one school respondent that LGEA committee meetings could be used to improve school, community and LGEA cooperation [BAOBAB].

9.7 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY AND OUTCOMES)

The need for children to earn money and/or to help parents in agricultural labour, and/or with petty trading was widely recognised as having a significant impact on enrolment, latecoming, absenteeism and retention in school, particularly during the planting and harvesting season. There would therefore seem to be a need for negotiation between LGEAs, schools and communities for more flexible school timetabling to accommodate this and thereby improve enrolment, attendance and retention in school.

The preference of some children, especially boys, to drop out of school to earn money were ascribed in some cases to the perceived lack of tangible benefits of schooling (i.e. low or no employment opportunities) and/or the low quality of schooling impacting negatively on retention, although in other cases the precise reasons for dropping out to earn money were not known. Improving employment opportunities and school quality would inevitably help reduce dropout.

There was evidence that in some schools quality issues such as excessive corporal punishment and teacher absenteeism were encouraging parents to withdraw their children from school.

There was little evidence of SBMCs as integral to the local management of schools taking any actions with regards to teacher management.

In predominantly Muslim schools, there is a need to communicate with communities and Islamic leaders to negotiate timetables that fit with both Islamic and public schooling since persistent latecoming is causing absenteeism and recurring punishment, which affect both school quality and retention. Despite successful communication with communities by LGEAs and schools which have reportedly improved punctuality and attendance in the short term, the problems persist in the long term possibly because the root causes (e.g. clash of timetables due to parental desires to give their children both an Islamic and a secular education) have not been addressed, or because poor school quality makes formal education less of a priority.

Sensitisation campaigns by LGEAs and schools among Muslim families have clearly helped improve the enrolment of girls in school though the evidence suggests there is more work to be done. In addition, the gender-stereotyped arguments in favour of educating boys before girls evident among some pupils suggests that similar sensitisation work needs to take place within schools too to prevent girls from not completing school or from underachieving.

Pregnancy and early marriage is still preventing some pupils, especially girls, from finishing their schooling. Although boys who marry may return as overage pupils, they are then more likely to be bullied and less likely to finish their schooling.

Family obligations to pay PTA levies and make other payments are preventing some families from enrolling or from keeping their children in school. This is likely to be particularly so in schools where the ABSUBEB guideline of only a maximum of ₦50 per term is being ignored and other unsanctioned costs are being asked of parents.

PTAs fulfilled three main functions: they provided the main means of communication between schools and communities; they raised funds, material and labour for infrastructural development and school-related activities; and they gave the community a 'voice' in the school. However, there is evidence that the ordinary community member could be more involved in, or consulted by, the PTA committee, which would help address more effectively the enrolment and retention issues affecting their children.

SBMCs are only just being established in schools and there is clearly variation and lack of clarity as to their purpose, an overlap with the PTA, especially as regards fund raising, and a similar narrow social base in terms of membership. If SBMCs are to help strengthen school governance, as envisaged (and thereby help improve educational quality and pupil retention), their membership base will need to be broadened and community members will need more support and training to enable them to participate more fully and effectively.

As one of the aims of communities providing financial and other support for school development is to encourage community ownership of the school, then clearly there needs to be more accountability out to communities as a whole and not just to a small (male) elite.

LGEA, school and community respondents interviewed often talked about other parents who were not sending their pupils to formal school in terms of deficit – in need of sensitisation, “enlightenment” and even to be “called to order”, with rarely any acknowledgement that the poor quality of schooling on offer might be a determining factor in non-enrolment and/or dropout, or that parents might have more pressing needs.

LGEA involvement in school–community relations consists primarily of social mobilisation and sensitisation to increase and encourage enrolment, particularly of girls, and the settling of disputes between schools and communities. With the requisite capacity building, greater involvement in school governance by the LGEA could help improve the quality of schooling.

Many respondents recognised the need for greater engagement between schools, LGEAs and communities. However, genuine engagement, such as negotiating changing timetables to suit community labour needs or to fit in with Qur’anic schooling, or relaxing uniform regulations to widen access (rather than LGEAs and schools telling communities what to do), is more likely to be successful in improving punctuality and attendance in the long term. There is clearly a fine line between LGEAs encouraging community involvement in schools and school development and relying too heavily on communities to provide, thereby exacerbating educational inequalities between wealthier and poorer communities, which will inevitably impact negatively on pupil access, retention and school quality.

CHAPTER 10 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to distil the main findings from the research and provide highlights to inform future policy, practice and intervention to improve access, quality and outcomes of primary education, with special attention to gender. The summary points listed below are elaborated on both in the six case studies in Appendix I as well as within the main body of the research report. The analysis presented in the written reports was based on data generated by the case studies and from respondents and observations in the wider education context in Adamawa. In the process of constructing this summary, detail is inevitably lost. We therefore recommend reading the previous chapters and the cases studies in order to better understand some of the social complexities of schools and communities that are the context in which educational development in Adamawa has, and will take place.

This wide-scale preliminary research has touched on the multiple aspects of educational service provision in Adamawa State. This has resulted in a wider range of recommendations than might be expected from more focused and targeted research. It will be evident that using this research as the basis for educational development within Adamawa State will demand some strategic decision-making on priorities that takes account of the budgetary limitations, which are not reported on here.

Inevitably, a multi-faceted research design means that some areas of educational service provision have been more accessible to exploration and the development of findings than others. This has led to some imbalances in the depth and quality of the data, which has implications for the development of findings and recommendations. In most cases, given the magnitude of concerns around education, further, more targeted research and situational analysis will be an important accompaniment to strategic action and development initiatives.

We have presented the conclusions and recommendations together to fit with the triangular model used in the data analysis, shown in Figure 2.1 in Chapter 2, which necessarily provides us with overlapping sets of recommendations. As elaborated on earlier, these recommendations refer to the three sets of stakeholders (educational administration, schools and communities), including relations within each group. However, it is the communications and relations between them that must be emphasised as key to high-quality, efficient, equitable and accountable education service delivery. We begin with educational administration as the main orchestrator of educational service delivery, then we move to schools, as the hub for access and quality provision, and finally to the communities, whose support and engagement is vital to successful provision of education to all children.

10.2 EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

10.2.1 Educational data management

Main findings

State policy provides the primary guidance for educational practice and development and as such it needs to be informed by high-quality data and evidence from the multiple institutions and processes that together provide educational services. While statistical returns have been collected periodically for several years, these quantitative data are under-utilised to inform policy, difficult to access, and attempts to use the data exposed a number of discrepancies that reduce confidence in the statistics provided. Discrepancies and incorrect data entry caused difficulties in the analysis reported in Chapter 4.

Reliable statistical data and analysis are vital to understand what is going on in education and in revealing trends over time. In the longer term, poorly entered and processed data will reduce their value for statistical manipulation and thereby their capacity to inform about the current situation and/or to gauge the impact of any interventions to improve educational access and quality. There were also gaps in the data (e.g. on overage pupils), blurred categories (e.g. on dropout) and limited analysis by social group (wealth quintile, gender or religion etc.). These data are critical to shaping strategies to improve access and quality in public schools and to understanding the impacts of policy and practice interventions.

The research reported here represents one of the first systematic qualitative studies within Adamawa State. Optimally, policy would be informed by a combination of traditional quantitative data with qualitative data, to capture insights to explain the trends observable in statistical analysis. The voice and perspectives of multiple stakeholder groups are highly relevant, and the inclusion of the more marginalised voices of women, parents and young people, in particular, has the potential to highlight specific problems in educational access and to energise processes and communications to boost developments in educational decentralisation and the local management of schools.

Recommendations

- Improve school survey and EMIS data quality, data analysis and reporting. The system of data collection and its analysis needs to be upgraded and streamlined. Every stage of the data trail will need to be sharpened. This should include support for data gathering at school level, and the training of head teachers in completing returns as well as in checking and validating the school returns. The same applies at LGEA and state levels.
- Establish an internal system of supporting and monitoring these recommended data processes. This should include all stages of the data trail, both to validate data and indicate if and where data support needs to be targeted. Data monitoring and evaluation (M & E) might assist with the definition of categorical variables, such as overage and dropout, and the development of further relevant statistical manipulation. This might usefully be linked to the production of school development plans by head teachers and SBMCs.
- Institute an annual timetable to provide deadlines for data submission, processing and presentations of the data. A series of deadlines are needed through the year, starting with one for school returns, and followed by others for data entry and cleaning, processing and analysis, and finally compilation and presentation of a state statistical report to feed into annual planning and policy formulation. In the interest of developing targeted policy and practice, the data and analysis then need to be presented in valid forms that are accessible to head teachers, communities, LGEAs and ADSUBEB. The format used in the presentation of the 2009 state data with the assistance of the then VSO officer in Adamawa provides one possible and appropriate format.
- Highlight and mainstream gender as a key variable to be reported on with respect to all aspects of educational policy, participation and practice. This also relates to the educational workforce, pupil populations and community involvement in school.

10.2.2 Communications, accountability and leadership

Main findings

The research provided evidence that a coherent and consistent picture of the current state of education was difficult to access at school, LGEA and state levels. At times respondents gave vague descriptions of educational access, quality and performance within the LGEA, such as exam pass rates, or made bold statements about increased enrolments, without reference to evidence. On the whole, there was little ongoing monitoring or evaluation with which to inform

school, LGEA and state plans in the short or longer term. Associated with this there was little or no support for the production of school development plans even after the LGEA or the state led in-service and other capacity development inputs for head teachers and SBMCs. The value of M&E to direct strategies and to provide a basis to celebrate accomplishments was thereby lost.

In a context of decentralisation the educational administration has a pivotal role in leading changes that demarcate and shift responsibilities and accountability chains throughout the system between the communities, schools, LGEAs to ADSUBEB. Accordingly, infrastructural development, the appointment and deployment of teachers, school support, community mobilisation, school–community relations and SBMCs are all operationalized through ADSUBEB and LGEA efforts. Evidence from this research, however, suggests that in places the communications through the administrative system are not working well and that accountability chains are broken. More straightforward examples included the stock of unclaimed textbooks in ADSUBEB headquarters despite evidence in classrooms of the absence or shortage of these materials. Such incidents, however, point to a certain lack of communication or performance of duty within the system. There appeared to be generic problems with communications and with particular educational personnel neither carrying out their responsibilities nor being held accountable for dereliction of duty. Monitoring and evaluation could assist in identifying the problems, which may simply be due to a lack of capacity or understanding of professional responsibilities.

A range of respondents referred to political interference at all levels within state educational services. While in most systems globally there are links between political governance and civil service institutions, most respondents described more local or personalised forms of political alliance and favour that undermined due process and the operations of equitable and transparent educational administration. These issues were raised particularly in relation to the appointment and professional development of educational personnel as well as to infrastructural developments (see 10.2.3 and 10.2.4 below). All have profound negative implications internally within the administration and more widely for the educational system as a whole. Political interference in appointments and access to training, for example, was found to impact negatively on LGEA and school staff morale, trust and working relations. Where political interference is endemic and insidious it erodes levels of confidence and accountability within schools and communities. Gaps in accountability chains around educational services have particular negative implications in a decentralising educational system aspiring to operate local management of schools through SBMCs. The effects of political interference and undue process on both appointments and accountability run counter to the quest for quality and equality set out as targets for the state, the nation and within internationally agreed targets described in the MDGs and EFA goals.

Recommendations

Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E)

- Oversee a step-wise introduction or revitalisation of existing M&E systems to include qualitative data collection from multiple stakeholders as well as gender-disaggregated data and analysis. Contingency measures will also need to be put in place for the collection of these data in the event of non-submission of returns by schools.
- Establish a cyclical monitoring process that could strengthen systems, improve equity and ensure accountability in ways that are likely to have a positive influence on school quality and on sustained school access. Capacity building for LGEA personnel will be needed to carry out these functions.

- Highlight and mainstream gender as a key variable in M&E to be reported on all with respect to all aspects of educational policy, administration, participation and practice. This relates to the educational workforce, pupil populations and community involvement.

10.2.3 Infrastructure

Main findings

The wide-scale infrastructural development efforts of ADSUBEB have proved to be an important positive strategy in improving access and educational quality across the state.

The appearance and quality of school buildings was found to be important to school choice decisions for parents and pupils. In addition, the proximity of schools to communities and families was highlighted in one case study as important for encouraging access and retention. The presence of a well-kept school makes a statement about the importance of education and this was clearly the source of pride for many stakeholders, especially where the buildings included two-storey blocks. Unfortunately, the quality of the finishing was sometimes disappointing, with evidence that building materials were sometimes left around the compound of new schools and/or that painting was unfinished and grounds and paths left uneven. Computer suites were also appreciated though crucially pupils seemed to have limited, if any access.

Despite the extensive infrastructural developments highlighted above, it is clear that much remains to be done. There are evidently many children still learning under shade, or in classrooms that are in a very poor state of repair, or are very overcrowded. This had a negative effect on pupil access and educational quality that worked against efforts in community mobilisation in the immediate and longer term. Poor quality infrastructure and lack of resources were also found to have a negative effect on teacher morale, with knock-on effects for teaching quality, learning experiences and pupil outcomes.

Beyond the building of classrooms, the research evidence highlighted the importance of an accessible water source and clean working toilets. The provision of safe clean toilet facilities and accessible water was found to affect both teacher and pupil absenteeism, with particular implications for the attendance and truancy of girls, especially during menstruation. Wider research also asserts large positive gains in access when these amenities are provided in schools (British Council, 2012).

The need for a secure school compound was also found to be a major priority across the case studies. Uncontrolled entry or exit from the school compound of pupils, teachers, hawkers, farmers and others was a major issue of concern among school and community respondents; it undermined security and parental trust that their children, especially girls, are safe in school. The research also showed that where there was a lack of a secure compound, it was difficult to regulate pupil and teacher latecoming and absenteeism, and restrict ‘outsiders’ from entering the school.

In addition, the outside space in schools was also regarded as important for children at break. Respondents brought up the need for sufficient shade and equipment for play (balls, apparatus etc.), which they thought would improve pupil–pupil relations and encourage enrolment and retention in school.

Evidence from the study showed that on occasions local communities are in dispute with the school. Respondent accounts suggested that this has resulted from inadequate consultation with the community. In one case this related to the siting of a school and its boundary, which led to

persistent problems with community incursion and the destruction of the school wall. Other cases included direct disputes over land, property, school security and access to water. There were also reports of the unsanctioned use of school buildings after school hours by community members, often leaving the classrooms soiled by human and or animal excreta or using them for animal shelter. This is not a healthy environment for teachers to work in or for pupil learning especially for those (usually girls) who are required to clean the classroom before school starts.

High-cost infrastructural development clearly needs to be implemented in an incremental way and despite an official system of referral up through the LGEAs the lack of transparency in the process produced disaffection among those who are central to the delivery of quality education. There was understandable frustration for those with sincere aspirations to improve the conditions for teaching and learning in their schools. As found in 10.2.2 above, there were suggestions that political interference or favouritism worked in the processes of nomination and recommendation for infrastructural development in ways that militated against an accountable and equitable decision-making process.

Recommendations

Buildings and amenities

- Introduce and communicate an explicit, open and transparent and public process for school selection for infrastructural development. This might usefully be based on a school development plan produced through the collaboration of the head teacher, SS and SBMC. Appropriate capacity building would be needed to enable the development of such plans.
- Institute a process of building contract commissioning that includes tightened quality control, inspection and payment on results to deal with problems of poor quality completion of school building projects.
- Continue to increase the number of schools as some communities do not have a nearby school and parents are reluctant to send children to school if it is very far away, especially if they regard the distance as too far for young children to walk.
- Expand existing schools and build more classrooms to cope with overcrowding, which would reduce the number of children and teachers working under shade and widen local pupils' access to school.
- Continue to improve the quality of school infrastructure (classroom buildings, rooms, desks, chairs) where necessary as it influences family decisions to send their children to school and influences which school they choose. Upgrade the quality of walls, floors, doors and lighting. Fit classrooms and storerooms with locks to improve the safety and accessibility of resources.
- Provide libraries and computer labs to schools and allow pupils access to these facilities for learning.
- Continue to improve the number and conditions of toilets in all schools. Access to toilet facilities is especially important for females and segregated toilets for pupils and staff should be provided where possible. These will need to be serviced and cleaned regularly and some pupils may need to be trained to use the toilets alongside training in other basic hygiene and health issues.
- Ensure there is a water supply on the school compound and make it accessible to teachers and pupils. This might be partly accomplished with through roof water capture, which should be included in the design and construction of classrooms.
- Strengthen education on basic hygiene and health, making links with the Ministry of Health regarding policy and strategies concerning the welfare of pupils and where possible hosting a health centre on or near the school grounds either on a permanent or weekly basis. More locally, collaborations with health service providers and the community could be increased on ways to provide a cleaner, healthier environment.

- Provide ‘play’ resources (e.g. a ball, playground equipment, board games etc.) and ensure equal gender and grade access during break, as well as establishing clubs and extra-curricular activities.
- Ensure that there is sufficient shade in the school compound as well as a sufficient area for safe break-time activities.

Compound security

- Fence and gate all school compounds, as the lack of security for children is a reason for parents not sending their children to school and the lack of regulated entry and exit to school grounds encouraged both teacher and pupil absenteeism.
- Ensure community negotiation and agreement over school fencing and access to resources. Improved communication and consultation between key stakeholder groups is crucial to the safety and health of pupils and teachers. Time and effort might be usefully spent on strengthening school–community relations to engender greater cohesion and to capitalise on their energy and resources as a means to increase school access, improve conditions and bolster educational quality.
- Ensure provision of security guards during and after school times and in school holidays.
- Provided safety and security issues are addressed, consider making facilities available (perhaps with a small fee to go to school funds) for community events, such as for using the computer suite, which was happening in one school.

10.2.4 Teacher management

Main findings

The slippage between the official criteria and processes and actual practices of staff appointment, deployment, and promotion in schools and LGEAs was a key management concern for most teachers (see also 2.2.2). Their reference to political influence/interference rather than objective transparent processes eroded their trust and confidence in the education administration system. For many it undermined the value of professional competence derived through qualifications and/or experience and its importance for career development. In several reported cases unqualified, inexperienced and/or incompetent personnel were appointed to leadership and management positions with responsibilities for other educational professionals. Some of the reported consequences included reduced management and leadership authority of head teachers, reductions in teaching quality, poor teacher discipline, a lack of teacher incentives, low morale and limited school development plans. In broad terms, the irregularities and lack of transparency in systems for appointments, deployment and promotions has detrimental effects on the quality of education provided and on the career aspirations of teachers and other education professionals. Further, this is a significant axis of inequality.

There is a gender gradient evident in the state, which shows only 35% of teachers are female. Reference to the case study LGEAs reveals that this under-representation of females in the primary sector is further exacerbated in rural areas reaching as low as 10%. Generally, in rural areas there were fewer female teachers; they were less qualified and fewer were graduates than their male colleagues. By contrast, in urban schools there were more female teachers (and female pupils), and a higher proportion were qualified and were graduates than was the case with their male colleagues. The exception to this pattern was found in a predominantly Muslim urban LGEA, where the statistics for female teachers showed similar patterns to the rural LGEAs. Most of the case study schools reported shortages of teachers generally, and in particular of female teachers, Christian and Islamic Religious Knowledge teachers and teachers with good spoken English.

In the two urban LGEAs with a high proportion of female teachers there were also high proportions of female pupils, reaching more than 49% in one case. All LGEAs, however, showed more than 40% of school pupils were female. The relationship between the numbers of female teachers in a school and the proportion of girls enrolled is unclear within this study and within the wider literature although a positive correlation is commonly assumed. The main point here, however, is that there is clearly a gender dynamic around the qualification and appointment of teachers that reflects wider gender inequalities, and which needs to be systematically addressed at LGEA and state levels.

Issues surrounding teachers' salaries (poor and late pay, lack of duty allowances) were identified by teachers, unions and most educational administrators as a major barrier to motivation and professionalism. Although this is largely beyond the remit of this study, it is important to concerns for teacher practices, morale, professional identity and career structures, which all influence the quality of education provided for pupils in schools.

The level of professional discipline among teachers evident in the case study schools varied considerably with it notably absent in several cases. It was not uncommon to find teachers on the school compound but not in class during lesson times. In other cases they were completely absent from school attending to their banking affairs and/or farming. Head teachers reportedly used a series of disciplinary strategies including verbal and written warnings, and referral to the LGEA, but consistent application of this system appeared to be limited. Importantly, however, a case of the sexual abuse of pupils by teachers within the state had been taken through the layered disciplinary procedures. The teachers had been dismissed, but at the time of writing the criminal punishment for their professional misconduct was not known. Issues of teacher discipline and professionalism are clearly linked and they lie at the heart of quality improvements (with their knock-on effects on wider access) and evidence from the case studies suggests there is scope for a multi-pronged approach to a more professional and better managed teaching force. See also Section 10.3.2.

Recommendations

Appointments and professional competence

- Transparent criteria for the recruitment, deployment and promotion of all educational personnel need to be confirmed and practised. These need to be explicit for both individual teachers and schools. Exemplary practice in educational administration will provide an explicit signal of the importance of due process.
- Ensure job descriptions are in place and hard copies are distributed to personnel and available in schools and LGEAs. Make sure appointees are made aware of and apply their professional, line-management and decision-making responsibilities.
- Improve the administration of teacher pay to enable prompt and regular payment and review.
- Develop a pay, career and promotion structure for teachers, including management positions in larger schools. Subject to negotiations with teacher representatives this should be linked to professional standards, a reward and discipline structure and quality improvements in schools, including pupil performance, bearing in mind differences in school intake and conditions.
- Develop a system of incentives (e.g. through salary supplements, promotion or accommodation provision) to ensure staff deployment to rural schools, especially for female teachers.
- Institute a system of gender-disaggregated data-gathering, analysis and M&E on teacher experience, promotion, deployment and posts of responsibility to ensure equitable career progression within the state. See Section 10.2.2 above.

10.2.5 Pupil management

Main findings

These are reported more fully in 10.3.3 below. The ways that pupils are managed within schools is highly relevant to access, quality and outcomes. The strategies for pupil discipline, time on task and in-class learning and the wider authoritarian ethos were all raised as issues for concern. There are clear implications for teacher management and continuing professional development (CPD).

Recommendations

Management of pupils in schools

- Advise and support schools and teachers in halting the use of gender as an organising structure within schools, for example in class lines, seating in the class and for specific activities in class and in the school compound.
- Advise and support schools and teachers in minimising the use of pupil labour around the school, and in eliminating corporal punishment and other punishment that is humiliating and/or takes pupils away from lesson time.
- Guide schools and teachers to use most school time for active teaching and learning.
- Work with schools and teachers in the development and use of an incremental set of pupil disciplinary sanctions to avoid the use of erratic and violent punishment.
- Support schools in encouraging wider access to school working with the parents/guardians, the PTA and SBMC to develop solutions and strategies to deal with poor attendance, lateness and pupil/family difficulties with uniform and levy requirements. This might include some slight daily or seasonal changes to the school timetable to accommodate community lifestyles e.g. during harvest time, and/or the development of disciplinary procedures that do not involve the pupil missing class. See 10.2.6 recommendations on CPD.

10.2.6 Teaching and learning

Main findings

These are reported more fully in 10.3.4 and require attention from all three sets of stakeholders. The main points for educational administration support and attention are summarised below. There remains a need to increase the number of classrooms and to improve the condition of many classrooms. The quality of the teaching and learning experience is enhanced in secure solid classrooms that are not overcrowded and have adequate furniture. See also 10.2.3 above.

Access to textbooks in schools was limited. There are evident problems with distribution that need to be addressed. However, even where available, teachers were often reluctant for pupils to use textbooks in case of damage. In addition, classroom observations showed that where teachers actually used textbooks, it was in a very limited way.

Both observational and interview data across the case studies confirmed that use of English as the medium of instruction was a major impediment to educational quality, pupil retention and learning outcomes, resulting variously in pupil discouragement, slow lesson coverage and time wasted in translation, low classroom participation, pupil absenteeism, exam failure and dropout. In practice, a mixture of English and Hausa was commonly used in class although this also presented a number of problems for teachers and pupils with a notable low proficiency in English. Several LGEA officials were aware of the problem and expressed their concern.

The dominant approach to teaching and learning was teacher centred. Teacher support was primarily through the SS although there was a mixed picture about the frequency of SS visits and they tended to focus on inspection of lesson plans and registers (see also Section 10.2.4) rather

than on professional support for pedagogy and practice although some advice on use of teaching aids was recounted.

The frequency of CPD workshops for teachers and their access to them was uneven. This was another arena in which personal influence was believed to be central to who was given opportunities for CPD. Some respondents at state and LGEA-level raised questions about the quality of both in-service and pre-service teacher education provision.

Recommendations

Continuing Professional Development (CPD)

- Provide CPD for LGEA officers and head teachers in M&E, supporting professional practice, (including pedagogy) and line management skills.
- LGEA officers (ES and SS) need to work with teachers to improve levels of professional practice and commitment. This support must include a focus on the implementation of more learner-centred teaching and learning, with attention to pupil learning progress and outcomes, and a move away from the technical inspection of lesson plans. Ideally, such CPD should itself be delivered in a participatory, learner-centred way. Teacher support for maximising the meaningful use of textbooks in the classroom is obviously one area of CPD need.
- Consider more cluster-based or locally connected CPD. For example, school clusters managed through LGEAs (ES and SS) could provide a basis for the responsive development of CPD, the delivery of school-based CPD and to sponsor professional exchange and learning between teachers and school within a specific location.
- Allocate around five specific in-service days to schools both to provide a forum for school-based development and to integrate CPD as fundamental to the work and careers of all education professionals. Plans and reports of objectives and activities during these days are essential and these might feed into a wider plan for school and teacher development.
- Ensure M&E and teacher evaluations of CPD and collaborate with other teacher education providers to review the substance and quality of teacher preparation programmes (including pre-service provision).
- Ensure that gender awareness activities are incorporated into CPD activities as the avoidance of gender stereotyping pupils is also important to improving pupil learning experiences.

Resources

- Continue to improve the free supply, distribution and use of textbooks (including teacher's guides) so that head teachers and teachers are using them meaningfully in the classroom and pupils have better access to books. Ensure the supply of additional writing materials and exercise books for pupils in financial hardship.

Language

- Revisit language policy and its influence on learning to consider the use of local languages and bi-/multi- lingual approaches to teaching in schools. This would need to be accompanied by CPD for teachers and awareness-raising activities with parents too so that they understand that teaching in English does not necessarily mean pupils learn English better.
- Align textbooks to language policy e.g. if pursuing a bi-lingual policy, ensure bi-lingual books are available.
- Strengthen the use of English in the classroom, possibly by developing a cadre of specialist English teachers.
- Consider a language code to avoid stereotyped references to "Western education", "office girl", "discipline master", "head master" and "executive chairman".

10.2.7 Community and community relations

Main findings

The main findings in relation to the community are reported in Section 10.4 but these require specific attention from all three stakeholder groups. The main points relevant to educational administration are summarised here.

Poverty is a key barrier to educational access and it is incumbent on the educational administration to relieve the pressures on poor families that militate against their children going to school. The ADSUBEB initiative of providing free school uniform for girls in primary one (and its decision to extend this provision to all primary children) is one such initiative. However, the reported practices of excluding pupils whose families were unable to pay levies or irregular fees reduced access and retention in school. Other barriers to access included the way in which the school timetable does not fit with the lifestyle rhythms of families, especially those surviving on subsistence farming and/or attending Qur'anic school alongside public school.

It was evident that community mobilisation campaigns have successfully improved school enrolment, especially of girls. However, the success of these campaigns has been tempered by the quality of educational provision in schools, including, for example, harsh disciplinary regimes, overcrowded classrooms and teacher absenteeism, which, the research showed, has resulted in absenteeism and eventual dropout.

There were positive examples of LGEA support with school and community relations, both in terms of social mobilisation and sensitisation as well as mediation in school–community disputes, often working together with religious and traditional community leaders. However, there was little mention among LGEA officials about the needs of nomadic children. There was also an over-riding lack of clarity about the functions and powers of the principal community liaison bodies, the SBMC and PTA committee. There was limited female representation on both bodies and the eligibility for membership was vague. Further, it was evident that communities were required to follow the school lead whereas there was much less consultation with, or response to community issues and needs. Accountability to communities from the LGEA or schools was weak, including, in some cases, a lack of transparency in the use of PTA funds and other fees.

Recommendations

Addressing the needs of poor children

- Ensure the supply of writing materials and exercise books for pupils in financial hardship.
- Continue to improve the supply and distribution of free school uniform.
- Explore with schools and teachers ways in which parents might contribute to the school in non-financial terms and relax the requirement for PTA levies for families in financial difficulties. Other services such as building, cleaning or fencing school grounds might be received instead of cash.

Encouraging school access

- Continue social mobilisation using local NGOs and CBOs to support LGEA activities to ensure that communities are aware of each child's right to education and primary schooling.
- Continue awareness raising and sensitisation to gender inequalities, gender-based violence and encouragement in the use of non-violent discipline in the home.
- Improve outreach and systems of communication between schools and communities as a means to increase and sustain pupil access to school. This should be supported by the LGEA and operationalised through open consultation with communities (including traditional rulers and religious leaders) to consider and develop school plans. This might

include the siting of schools, building projects, the provision of amenities and/or fencing and security of the school compound.

- Focus on the needs of rural communities with a multi-dimensional approach that includes community mobilisation, consultations and innovative practices to increase the sustained enrolment in schools. Strategies might include the recruitment of more female teachers to rural areas, supervised school ‘walking buses’ to school and/or seasonal alterations to school timetables.
- Ensure the availability for religious learning of different faiths as required within any school. Intensify the development of *integrated schools* (formal with Qur’anic) where possible and where children are attending both Qur’anic and public schools work with religious leaders, head teachers and parents to adjust timetables to enable pupils to attend both.
- Encourage a duty of care within the community to support access to school for all children and to encourage other parents and guardians to send children to school and inspire the children to keep going to school.
- Strengthen the efficiency and reach of nomadic schools.

School–community relations

- Enhance two-way communications between the community and school, such that the school perspective does not dominate and community perspectives are aired, for example as regards more flexible school timetabling to accommodate community lifestyles.
- Support the establishment and operation of SBMCs in their role to support and help manage their respective schools.
- Ensure that community representation on the SBMC and PTA is equitable in terms of gender, socio-economic status, ethnicity and religion. Consider an increased number of PTA meetings to include consultation with community members who may not be current parents or guardians of school pupils.
- Ensure greater accountability to the parents and community with respect to the use of PTA and SBMC funds.
- Encourage parents and the community to respect the integrity of the school during lesson time but encourage them to visit school at appointed times and/or use the facilities at specified times and for appropriate activities e.g. institute a health and mothers club, adult literacy classes, sports clubs, religious learning, language classes, computer clubs, gender-awareness activities (see also Section 10.2.3).
- Explore how CBOs, including private sector commercial companies or significant local business people, might contribute resources and facilities to support the profile and development of the school (see also Section 10.2.3).

10.3 SCHOOLS, HEAD TEACHERS AND TEACHERS

10.3.1 Educational data management

Findings

The process of data collection in this research indicated that in some cases head teacher capacity to complete data returns was limited. This becomes a significant barrier to assessing the successes and challenges each school faces, and to the subsequent elaboration of school development strategies. In addition, it poses a threat to data quality as school returns feed into LGEA and state data sets.

Recommendations

HEAD TEACHERS

- Ensure that data returns are completed and submitted to the LGEA as part of a timetable of annual data reporting. Where necessary the LGEA should support head teachers in these processes.
- Guide and monitor teachers in the routine collection and storage of data about school attendance and absence. Develop contingency measures for record-keeping in the cases when a class teacher is absent and unable to collect the data.
- Use these data as part of an annual school review and to inform strategic development plans for the school.

TEACHERS

- Collect school and pupil records and keep them up to date and secure. Check and submit to the head teacher as required.

10.3.2 Infrastructure

Main findings

This is largely reported in Section 10.2.3 above, although points relevant at the school level are summarised here. The conditions of school buildings and furniture varied dramatically across the case studies in terms of maintenance, cleanliness and security. Where buildings were in poor repair, classrooms were unclean (usually due to incursions by outsiders) and security was lacking, these issues were of major concern to parents, community members and school staff.

Recommendations

HEAD TEACHERS

- Ensure that teachers and pupils treat existing buildings and facilities with respect and care.
- Ensure that water and clean toilets are available on the compound to all teachers and pupils. This might form the basis for inclusion in health education and to inform on better hygiene practices for pupils, as was being encouraged in one LGEA.
- Explore links to local health services to consider reciprocal arrangements around the siting of a clinic on or near the school. This would permit the development of shared buildings and services and may encourage more community members to see the school as a community asset. The community, SBMC, PTA and LGEA might be asked to consider the feasibility of this and to assist in this process.
- Take measures to increase the security of the compound by controlling entry and exit to the school compound and buildings while the school is in session, after classes and during vacations. Boundary fencing, locked classrooms and security staff might be included in these measures.
- Include the school infrastructure developments and amenities as part of the school development plan.
- Seek support from other stakeholders (SS, LGEA, SBMC, PTA and local community) in the development of the school with regard to all aspects of the infrastructure, amenities and security. This might involve negotiations with the community and representative bodies about the specific requirements and could include reciprocal arrangements in which community meetings are held in school buildings after school, provided buildings and amenities are left clean and tidy after the meeting has finished.

TEACHERS

- Ensure that pupils are respectful of existing buildings, furniture and amenities and leave classrooms and toilets clean after use.
- Be vigilant about outsiders on the school compound; discourage them and exercise a duty of care for the pupils during the school day.

10.3.3 Teacher management

Main findings

Many findings are reported in Section 10.2.4 but those relevant to the school level are also included here. The management of teachers within schools was variable. In some cases, and often those in more urban contexts, teachers were more obviously active in the classroom and teaching regularly took place and school management was clearly monitoring the process. However, in many cases it was not uncommon for teachers to be on the school compound but not in class during lesson times. In other cases they were absent from school attending to their banking affairs and or farming. At times, the head teacher was either not in evidence, or appeared not to intervene. Often pupils were found in class without a teacher or with a prefect/monitor armed with a stick dispensing corporal punishment to peers.

Irregularities and lack of transparency in systems for appointments, deployment, CPD opportunities and promotions (see Section 10.2.4) had reported negative consequences for the management and leadership authority of head teachers, teaching quality, teacher discipline, teacher incentives, career aspirations, morale and the existence of school development plans. Although some head teachers referred to the positive support of the SS, there was little evidence of how this assisted them in the management of teachers in school.

Problems with appointments and promotions noted in Section 10.2.2 are a significant axis of inequality with known gender effects, including fewer female teachers and female head teachers in schools across the state. At the school level, gender was often used to distinguish among teachers and pupils with duties and tasks allocated on a gender basis. For example male teachers were usually responsible for discipline and school labour and female pupils for cleaning the head teacher's office and classrooms. Such regulations were not necessary and worked to accentuate gender stereotypes that have been found to restrict the opportunities and aspirations of female and male teachers and pupils alike. Teacher management therefore needs to be gender aware.

In reference to teacher management, head teachers tended to describe disciplinary sanctions and not rewards. The disciplinary strategies they listed for teachers included verbal warnings, written warnings, referral to the LGEA and salary deductions (through the LGEA). When and how systematically these procedures were followed was unclear. The use of this system appeared to be limited although, as reported in Section 10.2.4, a case of the sexual abuse of pupils by three teachers within the state had been taken through the layered procedures. Issues of teacher discipline and professionalism are clearly linked; suggestions relevant to the school level to improve both included: head teacher workshops, better implementation of systems of teacher reward and systematic teacher support and CPD.

Recommendations

HEAD TEACHERS

- Monitor teacher punctuality and attendance in school and in the classroom especially after break times and have explicit procedures and consistently applied sanctions where necessary to deal with unprofessional teacher conduct.
- Provide oversight of teacher career development with regard to their responsibilities and performance. Discuss this with each teacher at least on an annual basis.

- Ensure gender equality and avoid gender stereotyping in the appointment of teachers to posts of responsibility and in their career progression.
- Hold regular staff meetings to discuss school development plans as well as emergent issues associated with the operation of the school, the quality of learning, teacher concerns and CPD.
- Negotiate and enlist the support of LGEAs and SBMCs in systematic and regularised processes of teacher management, reward and discipline.
- Head teachers need support and training from the SS and LGEA to enable them to carry out their management functions more effectively. Systematic management training especially as the confidence in the processes of appointment is not strong. The support of the LGEA and SS is vital here.

10.3.3 Pupil management

Main findings

A primary concern with pupils relates to the ways that schools manage the process of admission and attendance (see also Sections 10.2.5. and 10.4). There are known gender effects in school access in which, due to economic, cultural and/or safety concerns, girls are less likely to be sent to school than boys. Despite community poverty, most schools required payment of fees and/or levies as an admission requirement. There were reported cases of these levies and fees exceeding the stipulated ₦50 maximum imposed by ADSUBEB. These, together with other schooling costs, such as providing writing materials, constituted a major obstacle to educational access for children, especially those from poor families. To exacerbate this, some schools showed themselves to be unsympathetic to family financial difficulties and children who turned up at school without fees, writing materials or their uniform were often met with corporal punishment and/or temporary exclusion from school. Some pupils reportedly avoided such public disgrace and beatings by simply absenting themselves. The size and frequency of the fee demands and the treatment of children from families who did not pay were key negative influences on school access.

School timetables appeared to be set down without taking account of the lifestyle demands or commitments of the surrounding community. In turn this led to pupil late coming, which was often treated harshly, often through corporal punishment or exclusion. Again this led to pupils not gaining access to education due either to teachers' punishments or to pupils staying away to avoid the punishment. Although some slight daily or seasonal changes to the school timetable to accommodate community lifestyles might have addressed some of the causes of persistent latecoming, there was very limited evidence that this was even considered within schools.

Often within schools there was an unsatisfactory balance between time for learning and for other activities. In one school as little as 2hr 35min per day was allocated to lessons. Timetables often bore little relation to the lessons taking place or the time spent on task in teaching and learning. In many cases pupils were in classrooms not actively engaged in learning or busy cleaning or doing other physical work, or in assembly. What children do in school and the quality of their teaching and learning is critically important to promoting access, attendance and to pupil outcomes. The connections to teacher management were clear within the case studies: where the teachers were well managed and acting in a professional way, the pupils were more likely to be in class and engaged in learning.

There were a few examples of positive disciplinary practices in schools, such as termly books awards for punctual pupils, or prizes for good classroom or exam performance. There were also isolated examples of individual teachers showing care for individual pupils, such as following up on absent pupils at home, which was appreciated by the pupils. That said, pupil management

practices in schools were often overpoweringly authoritarian and highly gendered. The most common disciplinary sanction was corporal punishment, which was used widely and often in an unregulated way in schools by teachers and prefects. It was more likely to be dispensed by male teachers and received by male pupils. Other painful and/or humiliating disciplinary strategies included manual labour, such as cleaning toilets, or being made to kneel or stand in a fixed pose for prolonged periods, missing time for learning in class. These practices were variously found to affect pupils' concentration, confidence and participation in class and resulted in pupil latecoming, absenteeism, dropout or withdrawal by parents from school. Thus, these pupil management practices had strongly negative effects on pupil access and school quality as well as on teacher–pupil and parent–teacher relations. Attempts to ban corporal punishment from all levels (ADSUBEB, LGEA and in schools) appeared to have had limited influence, perhaps in part because many teachers and parents favour strong, explicit discipline.

Prefects and monitors were often used in schools to supplement teacher discipline, often dispensing corporal punishment and monitoring school labour activities. Only in one school, which had specialist “doctor prefects”, did prefects also fulfil a more supportive function. Importantly, in some cases, prefects missed class, and therefore were being denied access to learning opportunities in order to carry out their duties. Appointments were made along gender lines reflecting the domestic division of labour and male superiority e.g. bell-ringing and flag-raising duties were habitually given to a male prefect and the head boy had superior authority to the head girl. These gender stereotypes perpetuated in the organisation and daily life of schools are limiting and work against equality messages around rights to educational access, social equality and female leadership.

There were widespread observed and reported examples of pupil bullying and “teasing” – both physical and verbal. In general, teachers were seen to intervene in more explicit violent interactions but were less likely to intervene otherwise. Forms of exclusion and teasing between pupils were found to have a significant negative effect, especially on girls and overage pupils. The research indicated that it could lead to reduced classroom participation and ultimately to absenteeism and eventual dropout. Teacher intervention in the social relations within school is an important aspect of their duty of care that encompasses pupil–pupil interactions and those with their teacher colleagues. Gross transgressions of professional responsibility such as brutal corporal punishment or sexual harassment of pupils also need to be reported and dealt with in a consistent and confidential manner that encourages more open reporting of such issues.

The provision of a more stimulating school environment is one way of encouraging positive relations among pupils, and improving teacher–pupil relations. Respondents in several schools suggested that this might be accomplished by more play facilities and/or equipment e.g. for sports, that also have the potential to increase teacher and pupil involvement in extra-curricular activities and even draw in community members. This in turn was thought to have a potentially positive influence on pupil enrolment and retention (see also Section 10.2.3).

Recommendations

HEAD TEACHERS

Access

- Consider and negotiate small daily or seasonal adjustments to school times to facilitate pupils' timely arrival and attendance at school. This might include changes to accommodate the need for pupil work at home during harvest time and/or a later start to facilitate pupils going to Qur'anic school. This will require PTA, SBMC, LGEA and wider community support.

- In consultation with the PTA, SBMC and LGEA, develop a range of ways that levies might be paid through non-financial means. This might include providing labour to work on buildings, maintenance and school cleaning.
- Ensure that pupil movements in and out of school are monitored and recorded. Follow up cases of persistent lateness, absconding or absenteeism with the pupil and if necessary with their family.
- Ensure pupils safety in school, making sure that outsider entry to the school is stopped or minimised and that pupils are not at risk from their peers or teachers. The gender dimensions (harsh corporal punishment of boys, sexual harassment of girls) need special attention.
- Increase the amount of time that pupils are in the classroom learning when drawing up school timetables and ensure that this happens in practice. Non-learning pupil activities need to be minimal, the use of pupil labour needs to be further reduced and punishments that result in time away from learning need to be curtailed.
- Ensure that prefects, in carrying out their duties, are not taken away from learning time, or made to spend longer in school than they would otherwise.

Discipline

- Develop and implement a structured system of non-violent and incremental disciplinary sanctions to avoid the use of harsh and humiliating punishments, or ones that entail pupils missing lessons. This will require LGEA support to address teacher and parent attitudes around the use of corporal punishment and consensus on alternative sanctions.
- In consultation with pupils and teachers develop a code of pupil behaviour that clearly outlines that violence and bullying between pupils is not acceptable and is a disciplinary offence. Systems for reporting these behaviours will need to be explicit.
- Specific care and attention needs to be taken to stem gender-based violence. In such cases the school response should be uncompromising towards perpetrators and include victim support and counselling.
- Develop a system of pupil rewards to provide incentives for improvements in attendance, behaviour and performance.

Pupil representation

- Dismantle the gender hierarchy in schools so that a girl as well as a boy might be the senior head prefect, and tasks are allocated based on criteria that are not dependent on gender. Equality should be upheld as a central principle within the school, among pupils and teachers.
- Reconceptualise the prefects and monitor system to move away from one concerned with punishing and managing peers, to a system that focuses on setting a good example to peers and offering support. Develop a system of pupil representation within the school, for example on a pupil council, as well as on the SBMC (as required by the guidelines). This could ensure that the pupil perspective is heard more generally on issues of school quality, pupil retention and access, which has enormous positive potential for stemming violence, reducing gender stereotyping, and improving learning quality and retention.

TEACHERS

- Contribute to the development and implementation of an incremental system of non-violent disciplinary sanctions.
- Dispense a duty of care for pupils in the school with specific reference to the prevention of gender-based violence, teasing and bullying by and of older and overage pupils in school.

- Intervene in pupil conflicts and cases of gender-based violence in a non-violent way and in accordance with a code of professional practice and the school pupil disciplinary structures.
- Support school systems of reward and punishment as described through consultation with the head teacher, LGEA and/or SBMC.

10.3.4 Teaching and learning

Main findings

Large bright classrooms with roofs that do not leak, clear chalkboards, cement floors, sufficient benches and desks are essential conditions for improved educational quality and teacher motivation (see also Section 10.2.6). The achievements of ADSUBEB in providing and upgrading classrooms have been critical in this regard. As discussed in 10.2.3 and 10.3.2 above, however, more investment is needed if all children are to be housed in adequately furnished classrooms with a teacher–pupil ratio at or below the government recommended ratio of 1:35.

There was evidence of PTA support for provision and repair of classroom buildings and furniture although it was rare that PTA committees or SBMCs were reported as having a direct interest in matters of teaching and learning. While in some cases, community members showed concern for the conditions of school property, in other cases, as reported earlier in Section 10.2.3, some community members demonstrated little respect for the school compound and buildings, leaving them in a bad state of cleanliness that is not conducive to good quality teaching and learning.

As highlighted in Section 10.3.3, some school timetables allocated relatively little time to lessons, as opposed to labour tasks, assembly and break time; and even less time was given over to lessons in practice when school started late or break times were extended. The time that children spent on task, which should not be confused with the time spent in school or in the classroom (see also Section 10.3.3), was also highly variable.

Textbooks are a key resource for teaching and learning when and if they are used but evidence from the case studies indicates that teachers and pupils often did not have access to them. The widely acknowledged improvement in ADSUBEB supply was not evident in all case schools and the unclaimed stock in ADSUBEB headquarters attested to problems with distribution. A second problem with textbook access was within the schools, where books remained in the head teacher's office and their use in the classroom or availability in a library was severely restricted. This, it was suggested in some cases, was due to a fear that pupils would spoil the books. Thirdly, teachers often used textbooks in a very limited way.

Language use and the medium of instruction play a critical role in pupils' ability to access the curriculum. There was widespread evidence that some teachers and the many pupils had difficulties in teaching and learning in English. Teaching in a mixture of English and Hausa was common to help pupil understanding but it both took longer to cover lesson material and excluded children from minority language groups. Other reported negative impacts of teaching in English, which were often interrelated, included: pupil discouragement; reduced classroom participation; teasing by peers; pupil punishment for not answering in English; pupil absenteeism; exam failure; and dropout.

Despite the policy push to more learner-centred pedagogies, the dominant approach was teacher-centred, involving teachers speaking for extended periods with little active learning and an occasional choral response or question and answer routine. In the prevailing conditions, which included poor English language skills (on the part of the pupils too), overcrowded classrooms, a wide age range and limited resources, this teacher-centred approach might be very hard to shift.

Overage pupils were pinpointed by some respondents as needing special treatment due to difficulties arising from earlier disrupted school attendance. It was widely noted that their participation in class was limited and exam performance often poor as they reportedly felt self-conscious and were teased and bullied if they made mistakes. Alternatively, they themselves were said to be disruptive and/or bully other pupils. They therefore often remained at risk of dropping out. In recognition of these difficulties, a couple of schools were either considering, or already practising remedial classes for overage pupils.

The social context of the classroom provides the conditions in which learning takes place. As wider research has shown, and this study confirmed, negative social experiences have detrimental effects on classroom participation and pupil learning, and can often result in absenteeism and dropout. Pupils in all case study schools reported some level of teasing, bullying and fighting and younger boys, girls, overage pupils and long-term absentees were reportedly often the victims. Teachers and prefects were often said to intervene, though observations indicated that this was not always the case.

Teacher professional development was supported by the LGEAs through the SS and through CPD workshops. Although there was a common understanding of the support to be offered by the SS, there was a mixed and variable picture about the frequency of the SS visits to schools and the focus and quality of their support. Most commonly they were described as checking registers, lesson notes and whether teachers were in class teaching although the specific nature of these checks was unclear and whether and how this impacts on improving teaching and learning was similarly vague. Some respondents pinpointed specific needs for teacher CPD in child-centred pedagogy, lesson planning and in classroom discipline strategies.

Recommendations

HEAD TEACHERS

- Maximise the use of available texts and other teaching aids within classrooms. Support teachers in finding innovative and interactive ways to use texts in teaching and learning.
- Consider a school-based approach to addressing particular problems in schools e.g. using a bilingual approach and/ or deployment of non lingua franca teachers to upper classes where pupil capacity in English is better. In larger schools teacher teams might be formed to develop schemes of work or teaching support activities in core subjects that could be used as a school resource for other teachers to use and adapt. School CPD days could usefully be used for the collaborative development of these curriculum resources.
- Institute a system to monitor pupil progress and to identify specific difficulties experienced by teachers and learners. This needs to be followed by strategies for teacher and pupil support to address the difficulties.
- Ensure that teachers and pupils adhere to a code of conduct that engenders respect and equality. Cases of bully, harassment or gender-based violence should be treated seriously through a non-violent, incremental disciplinary system.
- Engage the SS to focus teacher support mainly on teaching and learning in the classroom. This might be linked to an ongoing monitoring of improved classroom practices and pupil outcomes and perhaps include space for action research as a form of teacher CPD. This is likely to require SS and head teacher CPD to develop capacity.
- Focus on and develop forms of teacher support to improve teaching quality, use a more child-centred, interactive pedagogy, and encourage professional practice. Working with the LGEA this might include providing school-based or local in-school clusters, including a system of classroom and peer observation with constructive feedback, which might encourage peer professional exchange within and among schools.

- Consult with the LGEA, teachers and the SBMC about the focus of CPD input for educational staff and incorporate their ideas into school and teacher development plans. Specific teacher CPD topics might include teaching methodology, use of active learning, lesson content and the use of visual aids and textbooks.
- Quality improvements in learning and outcomes can be achieved in the first instance by improved teacher management and more CPD (see Section 10.3.5).
- Institute a system of recording and tracing pupil progress, providing appropriate learning opportunities to address areas of difficulty where satisfactory progress is not being made.

TEACHERS

- Work toward increased levels of child-centred learning and pupil participation within lessons.
- Improve the proportion of time that pupils spend 'on task' and learning during the school day.
- Regularly check, record and feedback the learning progress of each pupil in their class including to the pupils themselves.
- Refine a system of pupil assessment to report learning progress annually for each grade perhaps linked to a centrally administered system used for school and teacher development.
- Keep records of pupil attendance and progress and submit to the head teacher as required.
- Plan and implement schemes of work and lesson plans for their different classes. Where possible collaborate with teacher colleagues to share, evaluate and improve approaches to teaching and learning.
- Encourage pupil-pupil interactions that are characterised by respect and equality. Be vigilant and intervene in all cases of teasing, bullying, harassment or gender violence. These should be treated seriously through non-violent disciplinary sanctions. At the same time work against gender stereotyping in which images of male superiority and greater physical strength are assumed and acted out in ways that both limit girls' classroom participation and learning progress and put boys under pressure to act out stereotypical, aggressive masculinities. Addressing gender stereotypes and assumptions is a crucial part of any equality strategy with specific implications for pupil access, retention and outcomes.
- Engage proactively in CPD and with the community of educational professionals within the school, other local schools (in a cluster) and the SS from the LGEA.

10.4. COMMUNITIES

10.4.1 School-community relations

Main findings

Here we report the main findings relevant to the community although these have also been discussed in Sections 10.2.7, 10.3.3 and 10.3.4 above.

Parental and community support are vital to increased school access. Problems with sustained access to school most commonly referred to problems of acute poverty. For all poor families the economic and opportunity costs of sending a child to school militated against school access. In such circumstances PTA levies and other sundry fees, often in excess of the ₦50 per term maximum stipulated by ADSUBEB, presented a barrier to access (see Section 3.5). In these conditions, the provision of free uniforms by ADSUBEB, recently expanded to all primary pupils, has been an important positive initiative in encouraging school access.

Poor families usually depended on the domestic or income-generating labour of their children to survive; for rural communities this was particularly the case during the planting and harvesting seasons. Even children in school were often required, though perhaps in a reduced form, to contribute to the household. The combination of pressures at home and at school variously led to pupil latecoming (and therefore punishment) to non-enrolment, absenteeism and drop out.

Although each school and community might reach their own particular compromise, some respondent suggestions included a slight change to school times to enable home tasks to be completed before school or to facilitate Qur'anic school attendance earlier in the day. Similarly, seasonal flexibilities were also suggested to accommodate farming communities etc. Respondents also highlighted issues of school quality as directly related to demand for schooling. Parents and community members in particular pointed to corporal punishment, teacher absenteeism and the uncertain benefits of education to employment as negative influences on access and retention. For many boys, their experiences and learning in school did little to counteract their motivation to drop out and take up opportunities to earn cash.

With such widespread poverty reported, it was unsurprising that respondents across all six schools confirmed that pupils sometimes missed school due to ill health, or in the case of some girls, due to caring for a sick relative. Hunger too was explicitly identified in all schools as a major reason for pupil absenteeism or latecoming as pupils either waited for food to be served at home or had to go out and find food before or during class. It was also widely recognised that lack of food adversely effected children's learning, which in one school prompted teachers to bring the matter up with parents.

There are also known gender effects in school access in which, due to economic, cultural and/or safety concerns, girls are less likely to be sent to school than boys. Wider examples cited that threatened school access and completion included pregnancy and early marriage, which prevent girls from finishing school. Alternatively, along with boys who marry, girls were said to return as overage pupils, who are at high risk of dropping out. Sensitisation campaigns by LGEAs and schools have clearly helped improve the school enrolment of girls, especially among Muslim families. The evidence suggests, however, that there is more work to be done both with respect to the right of every child to education and to gender discrimination. Explicit and implicit gender discrimination, found to be widespread in communities, schools and among pupils, is a key axis for intervention and more sensitisation work as it has a deep and sustained influence on girls' access, experiences, retention and outcomes of school. The gendered school environment that projected masculine dominance and superiority was left unchallenged by community members and representative bodies (PTA/SBMC).

Liaison between the school and community was supported by the LGEA primarily in social mobilisation and sensitisation to encourage enrolment, especially of girls. The LGEA also assisted in mediating disputes, attending PTA meetings and with the establishment and operation of the SBMCs. Evidence from the case studies suggests that SBMCs are neither fully functioning as yet, nor fully representative of the different constituent groups (e.g. females and pupils). There are further difficulties that relate to a lack of clarity about the distinction between the SBMC and the PTA. There was evidence of overlapping functions that were concerned with communications between the school and community, providing a space for the community voice, and with supporting school development through raising funds, as well as providing material and labour for infrastructural development and other school-related activities. This study indicates, however, that the SBMC was not enacting a school or teacher management role, and evidence of their performing a community liaison function was very limited. In general, the community voice about school, teacher and pupil management was very faint. While there were reported cases of some

parents objecting to pupil discipline strategies and regulations concerning school uniform, for example, far less was reported about individual parents or community members raising issues about teachers or teaching and learning quality, either directly or through the PTA or SBMC.

In some case studies respondents reported difficulties for parents or community members in accessing the PTA or SBMC, and evidence suggests that the direction of communication tended to be from the school to the parents/community rather than in the other direction, which entails the school listening to the community. A negative, deficit view of the parents or community members was sometimes articulated within social mobilisation efforts in ways that did not appear to acknowledge that poor school quality (e.g. excessive corporal punishment, overcrowded classrooms, teacher tolerance of teasing and bullying, or teacher absenteeism) could be a determining factor in pupil non-enrolment and/or dropout, or that parents might have more pressing needs.

Recommendations

- Parents and community members should enact their duty of care to children and respect their rights to education by ensuring that all children – both girls and boys – are in school. This should also include offering encouragement for other parents and families to send their children to school. The PTA and SBMC should also champion this.
- Parents and community members should make efforts to support school development and to establish schools as community-based organisations and as an important community resource. This support might include payment of levies, offering labour and time to school projects (especially where families are unable to afford levies), and ensuring that the school compound and buildings are treated with respect. All of these forms of support would enable the development and the up-keep of a pleasant school environment.
- The PTA should work on the inclusion of more marginalised parents in discussions concerning pupil access, retention and school quality.
- The PTA and SBMC should work within the community to sponsor a sense of respect for the school and classrooms so that buildings and the compound are kept in good condition and only used with the permission of the head teacher. They should encourage parents and the community to respect the integrity of the school during lesson time but encourage them to visit school at appointed times and/or use the facilities at specified times and for appropriate activities e.g. by instituting a health and mothers club, adult literacy classes, sports clubs, religious learning, language classes, computer clubs, gender-awareness activities.
- The PTA and SBMC should find ways to encourage wider parental engagement in school developments, actively ‘listen’ to the parents’/community’s perspectives and take these up at their respective meetings.
- The PTA and SBMC should ensure that the communications and accountability link from the school to the community is operational and consistently used. Through this an improved dialogue between the school and community could promote more positive and reciprocal relations.
- The PTA and SBMC should work harder to make their respective representative functions clearer and more available to parents and the community. Both bodies need to be active in representing community perspectives to the staff and at SBMC meetings. They should encourage parents/community to express their concerns on all aspects of the school including infrastructure, timetabling, teacher conduct and the quality of teaching and learning.
- The SBMC needs to formalise its school management function. This includes the establishment of its membership according to government guidelines, transparent

accounts and minuted formal meetings, both for reference and for increased accountability. Capacity building may need to be provided for this.

- Issues of equality need to be embedded in the SBMC and PTA with respect to membership, operation, the available space for female and minority voices as well as within the issues and points of action under discussion. Both bodies should be explicitly non-discriminatory.
- The SBMC governance remit among other concerns should include the quality of the teaching and learning, CPD, staff and pupil discipline, pupil engagement and performance and infrastructure and resources. It should also seek community perspectives on how the school might better fit with lifestyle and economic demands impinging on community life.
- The PTA supported by the SBMC should generate community interest and support and encourage parents/guardians to take an active interest in the learning and progress of their children and in the school as a whole.
- The SBMC should galvanise wider support for school development and, for example, explore how CBOs, including private sector commercial companies or significant local business people or other groups within the community, might contribute resources and facilities to support the profile and development of the school.
- Capacity building is needed for the SBMC to fulfil its crucial mandate in the local management of schools, and to enable it to facilitate three-way communications between LGEAs, schools and communities, as a means to fulfil its critical accountability functions.
- The PTA and SBMC should encourage negotiations between school and community over timetabling flexibility to help reduce pupil absenteeism, latecoming, and dropout due to pupil pressures and commitments outside school.

REFERENCES

- Academy for Educational Development, 2002. *A transnational view of basic education: issues of access, quality, and community participation in West and Central Africa*. Washington DC: Academy for Educational Development.
- Adams, O., and Arowojolu, A., 2008. An evaluation of parents' patronage of private primary schools in Abeokuta, Nigeria. *International Journal of African and African American Studies*, 8(2), pp. 58–70.
- Adefunke, E.S., 2010. Types and prevalence of peer victimization among secondary students in Osun State, Nigeria: implications for counselling. *International Journal for Cross-disciplinary Subjects in Education*, 1(1), pp. 53–60. Available at www.infonomics-society.org/IJDSE [Accessed 15 October, 2011].
- Adegbehingbe, B.O., and Kayode, A., 2007. Corporal punishment-related ocular injuries in Nigerian children. *Journal of Indian Association of Pediatric Surgeons*, 12(2), pp. 76–79.
- Aderinoye, R.A., Ojokheta, K.O., and Olojede, A.A., 2007. Integrating mobile learning into nomadic education programmes in Nigeria: issues and perspectives. *International Review of Research in Open and Distance Learning*, 8(2), pp.1–17. Available at: www.irrodl.org/index.php/irrodl/article/view/347/928 [Accessed 7 June, 2011].
- ADSUBEB (n.d). *Innovation for specific needs in the implementation of the UBE Programme in Adamawa State*. Unpublished memo. Yola: ABSUBEB.
- ADSUBEB, 2010. Adamawa School Census, (2009–10). Yola: ADSUBEB.
- ADSUBEB, 2011. *Implementation of integration of Qu'ranic/Tsangaya system of education into the UBE programme in Adamawa State*. Unpublished report. Yola: ADSUBEB.
- ADSUBEB, 2012. Update on Nomadic Education Programme, 2012. Unpublished report. Yola: ADSUBEB.
- Ahmed, F.J., Aminu, C., Wakili, F., Bello, A., Girei, A.U., Garuba, A., 2008. Capacity building for small rural school teachers: a preliminary report from Nigeria. In: A. Garuba, and L. Irwin, eds., *Teaching and education in developing countries*. Accra: Adwinsa Publishers.
- Aikman S., and Unterhalter, E., 2005. *Beyond access: transforming policy and practice for gender equality in education*. Oxford: Oxfam.
- Ajayi, H.O., 2008. Early childhood education in Nigeria: a reality or a mirage? *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 9(4), pp. 375–380.
- Akinbote, O., 2007. Problems of teacher education for primary schools in Nigeria: beyond curriculum design and implementation. *International Journal of African and African American Studies*, 6(2), pp. 64–71.
- Akyeampong, A., Sabates, R., Hunt, F., and Anthony, J., 2009. *Review of research on basic education in Nigeria* [Draft]. Falmer, UK: Centre for International Education, University of Sussex.
- Alidou, H., Boly, A., Brock-Utne, B., Diallo, Y. S., Heugh, K., and Wolff, H.E., 2006. Optimizing learning and education in Africa – the language factor: a stock-taking research on mother tongue and bilingual education in Sub-Saharan Africa. Paper prepared for the ADEA biennial meeting, Libreville, Gabon, 27–31 March 2006. Paris: ADEA.
- Antoninis, M., 2010. *ESSPIN community survey report*. Report No. 528. Abuja: ESSPIN.
- Antonowicz, L., with Castle, S., and Diallo, V., 2010. *Too often in silence: a report on school-based violence in West and Central Africa*. Dakar: UNICEF, Plan West Africa, Save the Children Sweden West Africa, ActionAid.
- Aransiola, J.O., Bamiwuye, O., Akinyemi, A.I., and Ikuteyiyo, L.O., 2009. Proliferation of street children in Nigeria: issues and challenges. *Journal of Social Work*, 9(4), pp. 371–385.
- Arong, F., and Ogbadu, M., 2010. Major causes of declining quality of education in Nigeria from an administrative perspective: a case study of Dekina Local Government Area. *Canadian Social Sciences*, 6(3), pp. 183–198.

- Avotri, R., Owusu-Darko, L., Eghan, H., and Ocansey, S., 2000. *Gender and primary schooling in Ghana*. Research report No. 37. Falmer, UK: IDS/FAWE.
- Bakari, S., 2004. *Gender and equity in teacher education; a case study from Nigeria*. Unpublished D.Phil thesis. University of Sussex, UK.
- Bakari, S., 2007. *Nigeria case study*. Unpublished research report submitted to the Commonwealth Secretariat as part of a gender analysis of classrooms in selected Commonwealth countries. London: Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Bakari, S. 2011. *Making gender sense in schools: Nigeria*. Unpublished report (2nd edition) based on a Commonwealth study.
- Benson, C., 2004. The importance of mother-tongue-based schooling for educational quality. Background paper prepared for the *Education For All Global Monitoring Report 2005: the quality imperative*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Boston University Center for Global Health and Development with Initiative for integrated community welfare in Nigeria, 2009. *Situation analysis on orphans and other vulnerable children: country brief*. Boston: Boston University Center for Global Health and Development.
- Bray, M., 2003. Community initiatives in education: goals, dimensions and linkages with governments. *Compare*, **33**(1), pp.31–45.
- British Council, 2012. *Gender in Nigeria report 2012: improving the lives of women and girls in Nigeria*. (2nd edition). Abuja: British Council Nigeria.
- Brock-Utne, B., 2007. Learning through a familiar language versus learning through a foreign language – A look into some secondary school classrooms in Tanzania. *International Journal of Educational Development*, **27**(5), pp.487–498.
- Central Bank of Nigeria, 2000. *Annual Report*. Abuja: Central Bank of Nigeria.
- Central Intelligence Agency, 2011. *World factbook* [online]. Available at: www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ni.html [Accessed 25 May, 2011].
- Chianu, E., 2000. Two deaths, one blind eye, one imprisonment: child abuse in the guise of corporal punishment in Nigerian schools. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, **24**(7), pp.1005–1009.
- Chick, J. K. 1996. ‘Safe-talk’: collusion in apartheid education. In: H. Coleman, ed., *Society and the language classroom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Connell, R.W., 1987. *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Cornwall, A., 1997. Men, masculinity and ‘gender in development’. *Gender and Development*, **5**(2), pp. 8–13.
- CREATE, 2008. *Reconceptualising access to education*. Policy Brief No. 1, March 2008. Centre for International Education, University of Sussex: CREATE.
- Davison, A. J., 2010. *ESSPIN teaching and learning baseline survey - summary report*. Abuja: ESSPIN.
- De Grauwe, A., Lugaz, C., Baldé, D., Diakhaté, C., Dougnon, D., Moustapha, M., and Odushina, D., 2005. Does decentralization lead to school improvement? Findings and lessons from research in West Africa. *Journal of Education for International Development*, **1**(1). Available online from www.equip123.net/JEID/articles/1/1.pdf [Accessed 1 August, 2006].
- Dembelé, M., and Miaro-II, B., 2003. *Pedagogical renewal and teacher development in sub-Saharan Africa: a thematic analysis*. ADEA Biennial Meeting, Grand Baie, Mauritius, 3–6 December. Available at: www.adeanet.org/en_biennials.html [Accessed 10 December 2004].
- DfID Nigeria, 2008. *Social exclusion and gender inequality assessment*. Abuja: DFID Nigeria.
- Diallo, Y., Hagemann, F., Etienne, A., Gurbuzer, Y., and Farhad, M., 2010. *Global child labour development: measuring trends from 2004–2008*. Geneva: ILO.
- Dunne, M., Akyeampong, A., and Humphreys, S., 2007. *School processes, local governance and community participation: understanding access*. CREATE Pathways to Access Research Monogram No. 6. Centre for International Education, University of Sussex: CREATE.

- Dunne, M., and Ananga, E. D., 2013. Dropping out: identity conflict in and out of school in Ghana. *International Journal of Educational Development*, **33**(2), pp. 196–205.
- Dunne, M., Leach, F., Chilisa, B., Maudeni, T., Tabulawa, R., Kutor, N., Forde, L., and Asamoah, A., 2005. *Gendered school experiences: the impact on retention and achievement in Botswana and Ghana* (DfID Educational Report No. 56.). London: DfID.
- Dunne, M., Humphreys, S., and Leach, F., 2006. Gender violence in schools in the developing world. *Gender and Education*, **18**(1), pp.75–98.
- Egbochuku, E.O., 2007. Bullying in Nigerian schools: prevalence study and implications for counselling. *Journal of Social Science*, **14**(1), pp. 65–71.
- Engelbrecht, P., Swart, E., Kitching, A., and Eloff, I., 2005. Parents' experiences of their rights in the implementation of inclusive education in South Africa. *School Psychology International*, **26**(4), pp. 459–477.
- ENUGU State Ministry of Education, 2010. *Annual education sector performance report 2010*. ESSPIN, 2009. *Islamiyya, Qur'anic and Tsangaya education*. Position paper. Abuja: ESSPIN.
- Expo, U.F., Omatoyo, A.M., and Dipeolu, M.A., 2008. Changing lifestyle and prevalence of malnutrition among settled pastoral Fulani children in south-west Nigeria. *Annals of Agricultural Environmental Medicine*, **15**, pp.187–191.
- Federal Ministry of Education, 1986. *Nomadic education policy*. Lagos: Government Press.
- Federal Ministry of Education, 2007a. *National policy on gender in basic education*. Abuja: FME.
- Federal Ministry of Education, 2007b. *Assessment of violence against children at the basic level in Nigeria*. Abuja: FME with UNICEF.
- Federal Ministry of Education, 2009a. *National school census*. Available at: www.nigerianstat.gov.ng/nbsapps/nada/survey. [Accessed 9 January, 2011].
- Federal Ministry of Education, 2009b. *Roadmap for the Nigerian education sector* (consultative draft). Abuja: FME.
- Federal Ministry of Education, 2011. *Professional standards for Nigerian teachers*. Abuja: FME.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria (2004a). *UBE Act*. Abuja: Government Printer.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria (2004b) *National policy on education* (4th edition) Lagos: NERDC Press.
- FOS/ILO, 2001. *National modular child labour survey: country report*. Geneva: ILO/SIMPOC.
- Garuba, A., 2010. *An assessment of the Female Teacher Trainee Scholarship Scheme (FTTSS) in four northern Nigerian states*. An unpublished research report prepared for UNICEF as part of the Basic Education Programme of the Federal Government of Nigeria/UNICEF Country Programme 2009–2012.
- Hardman, F., Abd-Kadir, J., and Smith, F., 2008. Pedagogical renewal: improving the quality of classroom interaction in Nigerian primary schools. *International Journal of Educational Development* **28**(1), pp. 55–69.
- Härma, H., 2011a. *Lagos private school census 2010–2011 report*. Report No. LG501. Abuja: ESSPIN.
- Härma, H., 2011b. *Study of private schools in Lagos*. Report No. LG303. Abuja: ESSPIN.
- Heugh, K., Benson, B., Bogale, B., and Yohannes, M.A.G., 2007. *Final report. Study on medium of instruction in primary schools in Ethiopia*. Ministry of Education: Addis Ababa.
- Hoechner, H., 2011. Striving for knowledge and dignity: how Qur'anic students in Kano, Nigeria, learn to live with rejection and educational disadvantage. [online] *European Journal of Development Research*. Available at www.palgrave-journals.com/ejdr/journal/vaop/ncurrent/pdf/ejdr201139a.pdf. [Accessed 9 October, 2011].
- Hovens, M. 2002. Bilingual education in West Africa: Does it work? *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, **5**(2), pp.249–266.
- Humphreys, S., 2006. Corporal punishment as gendered practice – not simply a human rights issue. In: F. Leach and C. Mitchell (eds.) *Combating gender violence in and around schools*. Stoke-on-Trent, UK: Trentham Books.

- Humphreys, S., Undie, C., and Dunne, M., 2008. Gender, sexuality and development: key issues in education and society in Sub-Saharan Africa. In: M. Dunne, ed., *Gender sexuality and development: education and society in sub-Saharan Africa*. Rotterdam: SENSE.
- Hunt, F., 2008. *Dropping out from school: a cross-country review of literature*. CREATE Pathways to Access Research Monograph No. 16. Centre for International Education, University of Sussex: CREATE.
- Ikechebelu J.I., Udigwe G.O., Ezechukwu, C.C., Ndinechi, A.G., and Joe-Ikechebelu, N.N., 2008. Sexual abuse among juvenile female street hawkers in Anambra State, Nigeria. *African Journal of Reproductive Health*, 12(2), pp.111–119.
- Ikoya, P.O., and Oluremi, V. (2009). Determinants of rural-urban disparity in private sector participation in the provision and management of education in Nigeria. *Journal of Social Sciences: interdisciplinary reflection of contemporary society*. 19(3), pp. 225-231
- Ikoya, P.O. and Onoyase, D., 2008. Universal Basic Education in Nigeria: availability of schools' infrastructure for effective programme implementation. *Educational Studies* 34(1), pp. 11–24.
- ILO, 2010. *Global child labour developments: measuring trends from 2004–2008*. Geneva: ILO.
- Iro, I., 2001. From nomadism to sedentism: an analysis of development constraints and public policy issues in the socio-economic transformation of the pastoral Fulani of Nigeria. [online] Available at www.gamji/Fulani1.htm.
- Jauro, M.M., 2010. *Progress report on the Nomadic Education Programme in Adamawa State*. Unpublished report submitted to NCNE, Kaduna. Yola: ABSUBEB.
- Jigawa State, 2010. *Jigawa State Annual Education Report 2010*. Dutse: Jigawa State MoE.
- Joda, F., Ahmed, C., Wakili, F., Bello, A., Girei A., and Garuba A, 2008. Capacity building for small rural school teachers: an experience from Nigeria. In A. Garuba and L. Irwin, eds., *Teaching and education for teaching in developing countries: essays in honour of Jophus Anamuah-Mensah*. Winneba. Centre for School and Community Science and Technology (SACOST), University of Education: Ghana.
- Johnson, D., 2009. *ESSPIN input visit report: assessment of teacher development needs*. Report No. 304. Abuja: ESSPIN.
- Kabeer, N., 1994. *Reversed realities: gender hierarchies in development thought*. London: Verso.
- Kano State, 2010. *Kano State annual educational report*. Kano: Kano State MoE, MoHE.
- Lagos State, 2010. *Lagos State annual education performance report*. Lagos: Lagos State MoE.
- Lang, R. (2008) *Scoping study: disability issues in Nigeria*. London: UCL/Abuja: Joint National Association of Persons with Disabilities.
- Larbi, G., Adelabu, M., Rose, P., Jawara, D., Nwaorgu, O., and Vyas, S., 2004. *Nigeria: non-state providers of basic services*. Commissioned by Policy Division, DFID. Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham.
- Levinson, D., 1998. *Ethnic groups worldwide*. Phoenix: Oryx Press.
- Lewin, K., and Sabates, R., 2011 *Changing patterns of access to education in Anglophone and Francophone countries in sub-Saharan Africa: Is Education For All pro-poor?* CREATE Pathways to Access: Research Monograph No. 52. Centre for International Education, University of Sussex: CREATE.
- Lidonde R., 2004. Scaling up school sanitation and hygiene promotion and gender concerns. School sanitation and hygiene education symposium. The way forward: construction is not enough! Delft, The Netherlands, 8–10 June, 2004: WEDC/GWA.
- Lincove, J.A., 2009. Determinants of schooling for boys and girls in Nigeria. *Economics of Education Review* 28(4), pp. 474–484.
- Lloyd, C.B., and Hewett, P.C., 2003. *Primary schooling in Sub-Saharan Africa: recent trends and current challenges*. Policy Research Division Working Paper No. 176. New York: National Population Council.

- Mahmoud, A.O., Adbulkabir, A.A., and Salman, M.F., 2011. Observations of teachers in Ilorin, Nigeria on their practices of corporal punishment that are potentially injurious to their pupils' eyes. *Annals of African Medicine*, 10(2), pp. 150–154.
- McCaffery, J., Sanni, K., Ezeomah, C., and Pennells, J., 2006. Adult literacy and teacher education in a community education programme in Nigeria. In: C. Dyer, ed., *The education of nomadic peoples: current issues, future prospects*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- National Bureau of Statistics, 2007. *Nigeria: monitoring the situation of children and women: multiple indicator cluster survey*. Abuja: NBS.
- National Bureau of Statistics, 2009. *Social statistics in Nigeria*. Abuja: NBS.
- National Bureau of Statistics and National Mass Education Commission, 2010. *The national literacy survey*. Abuja: NBS/NMEC.
- National Population Commission, 2010. *2006 population and housing census. Priority Table III. Population distribution by sex, state, LGA and senatorial district*. Abuja: NPC.
- National Population Commission and ICF Macro, 2009. *Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey 2008*. Abuja: NPC and ICF Macro.
- National Population Commission and RTI International, 2011. *Nigeria DHS Ed Data Survey 2010: education data for decision-making*. Washington, D.C.: NPC and RTI International.
- Nigerian Education Study Group, 2007. UNICEF/FGN SAGEN Baseline study 2. Unpublished research report. Abuja: NES
- Okoje, C., 2012. *Formative evaluation of the United Nations Girls' Education Initiative: Nigeria report*. New York: UNGEI.
- Olanrewaju, K., 2011. "My challenge is unfettered access to basic education" Text of interview with Dr Salihu Bakari, ADSUBEB Chair. *Compass Education Newspaper*. 20 October 20, pp. 14 and 23.
- Omokhodian, F.O., Omokhodian, S.I., and Odusote, T.O., 2006. Perceptions of child labour among working children. *Child Health Development*, 32(3), pp.281–296.
- Omo-Ojugo, M.O., 2009. Demand and supply of teachers in primary schools in the 21st century in Nigeria. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 7(3), pp.149–156.
- Orbach, E., 2004. *The capacity of the Nigerian government to deliver basic education services*. African Region Human Development Working Paper Series No. 61. Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- Osakue, G., 2006. Violence against women and girls: breaking the culture of silence. *Exchange on HIV and AIDS*, 2(1–3). Available at: www.kit.nl/net/KIT_Publicaties_output/ShowFile2.aspx?e=1021. [Accessed 6 May, 2011].
- Osokoya, I., 2004. Parental preference for medium of instruction in Nigerian primary school education. *Journal of Research in Education in Africa*, 3(3), pp. 133–142.
- Oyěwùmí, O., 2002. Conceptualizing gender: the Eurocentric foundations of feminist concepts and the challenge of African epistemologies. *JENDA: A Journal of Culture and African Women's Studies*, 2(1). Available online at www.jendajournal.com [Accessed July 20, 2007].
- Page, E., and Jha, J., 2009. *Exploring the bias: gender and stereotyping in secondary schools*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Para-Mallam, F.J., 2010. Promoting gender equality in the context of Nigeria cultural and religious expression: beyond increasing female access to education. *Compare*, 40(4), pp. 459–477.
- Poulsen, H., 2009. School-based management committees in policy and practice, Volume 1: research synthesis report. Abuja: ESSPIN.
- Pryor, J., 2005. Can community participation mobilise social capital for improvement of rural schooling? A case study from Ghana. *Compare*, 25(2), pp.193–203.
- Robson, E., 2004. Children at work in rural northern Nigeria: patterns of age, space and gender. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 20(2), pp.193–210.

- Salami, O., 2008. It is still "double take": mother tongue education and bi-lingual classroom practice in Nigeria. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education* 2(2), pp.91–112..
- Salman, M.F., Olawoye, F.A., and Yahaya, L.A., 2011. Educational reforms in Nigeria: implications for the girl-child participation in sciences, technology and mathematics (STM). *Educational Research Journal*, 11(1), pp. 1–8. Available at www.resjournals.com/ERJ. [Accessed 5 October, 2011].
- Santcross, N., Hinchcliffe, K., Sims Williams, A., Adediran, S., and Onibon, F., 2010. *Mid-term evaluation of the EFA fast-track initiative: country case study: Nigeria*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Education Consultants.
- Sherry, H., 2008. *Teachers' voice: a policy research report on teachers' motivation and perceptions of their profession in Nigeria*. London: VSO.
- Smith, N., 2011. The face of disability in Nigeria: a disability survey in Kogi and Niger States. *Disability, CBR and Inclusive Development*, 22(1), pp.35–47.
- Sunal, C.S., Sunal, D.W., Rufai, R., Inuwa, A., and Haas, M.E., 2003. Perceptions of unequal access to primary and secondary education: findings from Nigeria. *African Studies Review* 46(1), pp. 93–116.
- Tahir, G., and Girei, S. B., 2008. Teacher preparation and challenges of the Universal Basic Education Programme in Nigeria. In: A. Garuba and L. Irwin, eds., *Teaching and education for teaching in developing countries*. Accra: Adwinsa Publishers.
- Theobald, D., Umar, A., Ochekepe, S., and Sanni, S., 2007. Nigeria: country case study. Country profile prepared for the *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2008: Education for All by 2015*: Paris: UNESCO.
- Thomas, H., 2011. *A critique of management reform at Oro College*. KW322. Abuja: ESSPIN.
- Tooley, J., Dixon, P., and Olaniyan, O., 2005. Private and public schools in low-income areas of Lagos State, Nigeria: a census and comparative study. *International Journal of Educational Research* 43(3), pp. 125–146.
- Ugal, D., and Undyaundeye, F., 2009. *Child labour in Nigeria: causes and consequences for national development*. [online] Available at: www.ssrn.com/abstract=1514460 [Accessed 1 April, 2011].
- Umar, A., and Tahir, G., 2000. Researching nomadic education: a Nigerian perspective. *International Journal of Educational Research* 33(3), pp. 231–240.
- Umejei, E., 2011. Repositioning the Universal Basic Education Commission. *Daily Independent*, 10 April. Available at www.allafrica.com/stories/201104110675.html [Accessed 5 July, 2011]
- UNDP, 2009. *Human Development Report Nigeria 2008-2009: achieving growth with equity*. Abuja: UNDP.
- UNDP Nigeria, 2010. *Nigeria: MDGs Countdown Strategy: 2010–2015. Achieving the MDGs*. Available at www.ng.undp.org. [Accessed 1 November, 2012]
- UNESCO, 2003. *Gender and Education For All – the leap to equality*. EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003/4. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO, 2004. *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005 – the quality imperative*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO, 2012. *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2012– youth and skills: putting education to work*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) [online] Available at: www.stats.uis.unesco.org [Accessed 5 July, 2011]
- UNFPA, 2010. *Healthcare services in UNFPA-assisted states in Nigeria: Adamawa state report*. Abuja: UNFPA.
- UNICEF, 2006. *Child labour information sheet*. Abuja, UNICEF Nigeria.
- Unterhalter, E., and Heslop, J., 2011. *Transforming education for girls in Nigeria and Tanzania: a cross-country analysis of baseline research*. London: Institute of Education/ActionAid.

- Urwick, J., 2002. Determinants of the private costs of primary and early childhood education: findings from Plateau State, Nigeria. *International Journal of Educational Development*, **22**(?), pp.131–144.
- Urwick, J., and Aliyu, B., 2003. *Towards the redynamisation of Nigeria's education system*. London: Council for Education in the Commonwealth.
- USAID, 2009. *COMPASS: community participation for action in the social sector 2004–2009 End-of-project report*. Abuja: USAID.
- Usman, L.A., 2006. Rural nomadic Fulbe boys' primary schooling: assessing repertoires of practice in Nigeria. *McGill Journal of Education* **41**(2), pp. 155–162.
- Usman, L., 2008. Assessing the Universal Basic Education primary and Koranic schools' synergy for Almajiri street boys in Nigeria. *International Journal of Educational Management*, **22**(1), pp. 62–73.
- WaterAid, 2009. *Is menstrual hygiene and management an issue for adolescent school girls? A comparative study of four schools in different settings of Nepal*. Kathmandu: WaterAid.
- Williams, E., 2009. *Analysis of the role of LGEAs and LGAs in supporting education in Nigeria*. Report No. 203. Abuja: ESSPIN.
- World Bank, 2006. *Nigeria science and technology education at post-basic level: review of science and technology education in federally-funded institutions*. Report No. 37973. Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- World Bank, 2011. *Nigeria – socio-economic assessment*. Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- Yusuf, S., Saint, W., and Nabeshima, K., 2009. *Accelerating catch-up: tertiary education for growth in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington D.C.: World Bank.

APPENDIX I

CASE STUDY REPORTS

IA	Schools and Zones
IB	Kanti Primary School
IC	Domingo Primary School
ID	Metropolis Primary School
IE	Kilfi Primary School
IF	Doya Primary School
IG	Baobab Primary School

APPENDIX IA

Schools and Zones

School name	Senatorial Zone	School location
Kanti Primary School	Northern 1	Rural
Domingo Primary School	Northern 2	Urban
Metropolis Primary School	Central 1	Urban
Kilfi Primary School	Central 2	Urban
Doya Primary School	Southern 1	Rural
Baobab Primary School	Southern 2	Urban

APPENDIX IB

KANTI PRIMARY SCHOOL CASE STUDY REPORT

AIB1. CONTEXT AND QUANTITATIVE DATA

This is the case study report of Kanti Primary School within the context of the relevant LGEA and its local community. It is a rural school located in the Northern Senatorial Zone of the state.

Respondents

A mixture of formal group and individual interviews were held with 18 adults and 30 children, as indicated in Table AIB1.1. Four group interviews were held with pupils (two male, two female), and group interviews were also held with LGEA officials, and with parents. Other respondents were interviewed individually. All respondents were Christians, reflecting the fact that the school intake and village community is wholly Christian. Just over a third of respondents were female.

Table AIB1.1 Kanti Primary School case study respondents

Participant group	Male	Female	Total
School – staff (head teacher, teachers)	6	1	7
School – pupils	15	15	30
Community (parents, PTA, SBMC, community leader)	4	2	6
LGEA (including ES,SS)	5	0	5
TOTAL	32	18	50

Additionally, informal interactions were held in and around the school and community, including with JSS pupils, prefects, and the teacher in charge of the school farm. Eight lesson observations were conducted.

AIB1.1. The LGA (LGEA)

Socio-demographic context

The LGA is close to both Cameroon and Borno State. As a result, the towns and communities within the area are major trading communities maintaining close commercial ties with the neighbouring state and country, predominantly in the wholesale and retail of essential goods, liquor and groceries. Easy access routes from the area to the rest of the state and to neighbouring states have contributed to the importance of trade to the area. Although trading is important, much of the LGA's population is rural, making a living from subsistence agriculture and animal husbandry. The main ethnic group is Higgi (Kamwe), the majority of which are Christian although there are some Muslim Higgis in the urban centres.

Local education context

See main report, Chapter 4.

AIB1.2 The school community

The school is a rural school; its catchment area comprises Kanti village itself and several surrounding communities, with some pupils walking as far as 8km to reach the school. Kanti village is small and possesses a church and a health centre.

Most families in the catchment area practise subsistence agriculture with some family members engaged in petty trading either within the village or further afield in the larger, more urban trading centres. The trading has affected school enrolment and the attendance of boys in particular who, according to LGEA and school staff, are often absent on market days and/or abandon school to move to these urban centres to work. Interviewees across the board agreed that family demands for agricultural labour before school and during the rainy season result in many children being late for school and/or missing many weeks of schooling. LGEA and school staff, including from the JSS, additionally noted that during the rains children from remote and mountain-dwelling communities struggle to reach the school, or arrive on time, because of the difficult terrain.

There is a close cultural affinity between the residents of Kanti village and its surrounding areas and Cameroon as communities in both locations are predominantly Higgi. These Higgi-dominated communities, however, are distinct since on the Cameroonian side, and in neighbouring Borno State, they are mainly Muslim whereas in Kanti village they are wholly Christian. The only private school within Kanti village is a private nursery school, with around 45 pupils, located within the premises of the village church.

AIB1.3 The school

School description

Basic school information

Kanti is one of the oldest schools in the LGEA, established in the mid-twentieth century. A small rural school, it lies in Kanti village, by the side of a small, unpaved road. Across the road, a small grocery store sells household items and alcohol on an off-licence basis, transforming into an informal bar with music most evenings and weekends.

Located in a fairly large and shady unfenced compound, Kanti Primary School shares its premises, including a sports field, with a JSS, for which it serves as a feeder school. The school is made up of three buildings that house ten classrooms, which are inadequate to accommodate all the classes and are predominantly in poor condition.

The school day usually runs from 7am to 1.30pm, with half-hourly assemblies on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. The PTA levy is ₦50 per term, supplemented by one-off payments of ₦200 to fund particular projects.

The staff

There were 18 teachers in Kanti School, including the head teacher, and no non-teaching staff. The staff are predominantly male (72.2%), though 27.8% are female, demonstrating a higher percentage than the LGEA average of just over 20%. The staff comprise an even balance of qualified and unqualified teachers, as shown in Table AIB1.2 below. There are two male graduates, including the head teacher, but no female graduates. The percentage of qualified teachers (50%) is well below the LGEA average of over 95%; 11% are graduates.

Table AIB1.2: Kanti Primary School teachers by qualification and gender

	Qualifications	F	M	Total
Qualified	Bachelors Degree	0	2	2 (11.1%)
	Nigerian Certificate in Education (NCE)	2	5	7 (38.9%)
Unqualified	Teacher Grade Two Certificate (TC II)	3	3	6 (33.3%)
	Others	0	3	3 (16.7%)
	TOTAL	5	13	18

Statistics on educational access and pupil outcomes***Pupil enrolment***

Over the last four years, enrolments have increased, from 624 in 2007–8 to 675 in 2010–11, as illustrated in Table AIB1.3, although numbers have fluctuated across the years. The numbers of both girls and boys enrolling in school have also increased overall and although there remain higher numbers of boys enrolled in school than girls the gender gap has narrowed. Female pupils accounted for 45.2% of enrolments in 2010–11, up from 42.3% in 2007–8. Conversely, male pupils represented 54.8% of enrolments, down from 57.7% in 2007–8. In addition, the intake has been wholly Christian over the last four years, which reflects the fact that the community is entirely Christian.

Table AIB1.3 Kanti Primary School enrolments by gender and religion 2007–2011

Year	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	Total
2007–2008	264 (42.3%)	360 (57.7%)	0 (0%)	624 (100%)	624
2008–2009	268 (44.2%)	338 (55.8%)	0 (0%)	606 (100%)	606
2009–2010	315 (49.0%)	328 (51.0%)	0 (0%)	643 (100%)	643
2010–2011	305 (45.2%)	370 (54.8%)	0 (0%)	675 (100%)	675

When considering gender-disaggregated enrolment figures by grade (see Table AIB1.4) no clear patterns are apparent in terms of progression through the grades other than the fact that the numbers of pupils in a particular grade that can be traced across three or four years generally decrease overall for both girls and boys. Some of the extreme ratios and dramatic changes in absolute numbers or ratios between girls and boys in particular grades of particular years indicate that some of the figures are unreliable. For example, in 2007–8, 65.4% of enrolments were boys in Primary 4, yet moving up through Primary 5 and 6 over the following two years, girls' enrolments were said to comprise 64.5% and 60.2%, respectively. Such a reversal in gender ratio is highly unlikely, especially given the ratios in favour of boys is evident in most grades in all four years.

Table AIB1.4 Kanti Primary School enrolments by gender and grade 2007–2011

Level	2007/2008			2008/2009			2009/2010			2010/2011		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
P1	45 (45.0%)	55 (55.0%)	100	21 (21.0%)	79 (79.0%)	100	66 (52.8%)	59 (47.2%)	125	45 (38.5%)	72 (61.5%)	117
P2	45 (47.4%)	50 (52.6%)	95	36 (48.6%)	38 (51.4%)	74	46 (46.5%)	53 (53.5%)	99	90 (51.7%)	84 (48.3%)	174
P3	51 (45.9%)	60 (54.1%)	111	53 (40.5%)	78 (59.5%)	131	39 (43.3%)	51 (56.7%)	90	53 (47.3%)	59 (52.7%)	112
P4	37 (34.6%)	70 (65.4%)	107	49 (52.1%)	45 (47.9%)	94	46 (39.3%)	71 (60.7%)	117	39 (43.8%)	50 (56.2%)	89
P5	46 (41.4%)	65 (58.6%)	111	69 (64.5%)	38 (35.5%)	107	47 (50.0%)	47 (50.0%)	94	35 (38.0%)	57 (62.0%)	92
P6	40 (40.0%)	60 (60.0%)	100	40 (40.0%)	60 (60.0%)	100	71 (60.2%)	47 (39.8%)	118	43 (47.3%)	48 (52.7%)	91
Total	264 (42.3%)	360 (57.7%)	624	268 (44.2%)	338 (55.8%)	606	315 (48.9%)	328 (51.0%)	643	305 (45.2%)	370 (54.8%)	675

Overage pupils

Numbers of overage pupils (see Table AIB1.5 below) dipped from 2007–8 figures before increasing dramatically in 2010–11. In three of the four years there were more overage boys than girls and indeed a higher percentage of male enrolments than of female enrolments were overage. However, the most striking observation is that in 2010–11 270 overage pupils constituted 40% of school enrolments, well over double the percentage in any of the three previous years. There is no obvious explanation for this sudden increase and again the reliability of some of the figures is in doubt. A comparison of Tables AIB1.4 and AIB1.6 would lead to the unlikely/improbable conclusion that a cohort of 94 pupils in Primary 5 in 2009–10, 14.9% of which are overage, suddenly becomes a Primary 6 cohort of 91 in 2010–11 of which 51.6% are said to be overage. Even more implausible is the notion that 100% of girls in Primary 1 in 2008–9 were overage. This lack of reliability might also explain the lack of clear patterns of overage pupils across the grades.

Table AIB1.5 Kanti Primary School overage* pupils by gender and year 2007–2011

Year	Total numbers (%) of overage pupils by gender		
	Female	Male	Total
2007–8	40 (15.2%)	59 (16.4%)	99 (15.9%)
2008–9	48 (17.9%)	47 (13.9%)	95 (15.7%)
2009–10	38 (12.1%)	52 (15.9%)	90 (14.0%)
2010–11	118 (38.7%)	152 (41.1%)	270 (40.0%)

*Pupils three or more years over the official age for each year

Table AIB1.6 Kanti Primary School overage pupils by gender, grade and year 2007–2011

Level	2007–2008			2008–2009			2009–2010			2010–2011		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
P1	6 (13.3%)	9 (16.4%)	15	21 (100%)	11 (13.9%)	33	12 (18.2%)	18 (30.5%)	30	26 (57.8%)	33 (45.8%)	59
P2	8 (17.8%)	11 (22.0%)	19	6 (16.7%)	6 (15.8%)	12	5 (10.9%)	8 (15.1%)	13	18 (20.0%)	29 (34.5%)	47
P3	6 (11.8%)	9 (15.0%)	15	8 (15.1%)	5 (6.4%)	13	9 (23.1%)	3 (5.9%)	12	22 (41.5%)	19 (32.2%)	41
P4	3 (8.1%)	6 (8.6%)	9	4 (8.2%)	8 (17.8%)	12	3 (6.5%)	6 (8.5%)	9	25 (64.1%)	17 (34.0%)	42
P5	10 (21.7%)	13 (20.0%)	23	6 (8.7%)	12 (31.6%)	18	6 (12.8%)	8 (17.0%)	14	9 (25.7%)	25 (43.9%)	34
P6	7 (17.5%)	11 (18.3%)	18	3 (7.5%)	5 (8.3%)	8	3 (4.2%)	9 (19.1%)	12	8 (18.6%)	29 (60.4%)	47
Total	40 (15.2%)	59 (16.4%)	99	48 (17.9%)	47 (13.9%)	95	38 (12.1%)	52 (15.9%)	90	118 (38.7%)	152 (41.1%)	270

Pupil attendance

Table AIB1.7 below illustrates the number of pupil days absent per term by gender. Male pupils have been absent from school for more days than female pupils, which is unsurprising given that more boys are enrolled in school. Since the qualitative data suggest that some pupils are absent for a whole term and the 2010 NEDS reported that the average number of days a child missed the month prior to the survey was 5.5, the figures below are likely to represent a major underestimation. Nor do they reflect any seasonal variation, in contrast to the qualitative data, which universally suggest that absenteeism is much higher during the rainy season either because pupils are unable to reach school, or because their labour is needed in the fields. Since figures refer to pupil days, they do not give any indication of the number of children who have been absent.

Table AIB1.7 Kanti Primary School number of days absent by term and by gender 2007–10

Year	Female dropouts	Female dropout rate	Male dropouts	Total no. of dropouts	Overall dropout rate
	F/M	2007/8	2008/9	2009/10	TOTAL
First term	F	18	17	20	55
	M	22	15	29	66
Second term	F	15	12	21	48
	M	25	24	33	82
Third term	F	15	18	28	61
	M	14	15	39	68
Annual totals		109	101	170	

Pupil dropout

Dropout rates, shown in Table AIB1.8 below, are low and again and would seem not to include pupils that do not re-register year on year. Comparison with the pupil enrolments in Table AIB1.4 demonstrates that in the cases where fewer pupils enrol for the next grade the following year, the drop in numbers is greater than the number of dropouts recorded. For example, according to Table AIB1.8, seven female pupils are said to have dropped out in 2008–9 yet Table AIB1.4 indicates that in Primary 4 alone eight female pupils fewer are registered the following year in the next grade. Evidence from the qualitative data too indicates that these figures are considerable

underestimations. That said, Table AIB1.8 suggests that both in absolute terms and as a percentage of enrolments, more boys than girls dropped out of Kanti between 2007–8 and 2009–10, which broadly coincides with what various respondents have suggested about boys missing and/or dropping out of school to trade.

Table AIB1.8 Kanti Primary School dropout rates by gender 2007–2011

Year	Female dropouts	Female dropout rate	Male dropouts	Male dropout rate	Total no of dropouts	Overall dropout rate
2007–2008	2	0.8	2	0.6	4	0.6
2008–2009	7	2.6	11	3.3	18	3.0
2009–2010	4	1.3	13	4.0	17	2.6

Pupil performance

No performance data for the Primary 6 exam were available in the school.

AIB2. QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

AIB2.1 The school

General school issues

School buildings and facilities

Located in a fairly large, neat and shady compound, Kanti Primary School shares its premises with a JSS, for which it serves as a feeder school. Significantly, the school is not fenced; however, mango trees have been planted recently to demarcate its boundary from the JSS and to improve the school's appearance. The shady compound was kept neat and well swept with stones decorating the entrance to the classrooms. Although the primary school had no sports field of its own, it shared the JSS field at the back and the PTA thought that the school had enough land and space.

The school is made up of three buildings, which house ten classrooms, a small head teacher's office and a small staff room lacking in furniture. The school was short of classrooms, with three primary one classes held under shade in the centre of the compound at the front of the school. The teachers of these classes have small chalkboards and pupils are seated on logs. The classrooms are in varying states of disrepair and furniture is lacking or is of very poor quality. Classrooms are arranged in ascending grade order, with the standard of classroom and furniture gradually improving as pupils move up the grades (see section on *Classroom conditions and resources*). A small head teacher's office and staffroom are located in the central block though teachers prefer to sit outside under the shade. The staffroom was dirty and had one small table, covered in a heap of administrative records plus a cupboard for books and a stool. By the last visit a new PTA-sponsored building for two classrooms was underway. LGEA officials thought that lack of infrastructure was a problem typical of rural schools, where families are too poor to pay the PTA levy. They also recognised a more general need for more schools to be built.

The school has no electricity or water but there is a community hand pump across the road. School access to water from the pump is limited until around 10am as the issue is a source of friction between the school and some community members (see Section 2.2. on *Community-school relations*). Thereafter, pupils have no access to drinking water. The SS noted that lack of basic amenities such as drinking water constituted a major access issue in schools.

The school has no toilets as such but staff are allowed to use one of the JSS toilet blocks (one latrine for male teachers and another for female teachers) located behind the primary school, at the edge of the JSS playing field. Pupils are expected to use the bush. According to one LGEA official, as villagers and pupils are already used to defecating in the bush, lack of toilets would not be a cause of low enrolment or a major access issue in the area. The previous year the PTA had reportedly agreed to build latrines for the pupils but it had been postponed, according to one teacher, until more classrooms had been built.

The school also has a small farm about the size of two football pitches (see *School management of pupils* below) behind the Primary 6 classrooms towards the village. It is managed by the Agriculture teacher and cultivated by the pupils.

All school and community respondents agreed that the most urgent issues for school improvement related to infrastructure. The priority for the head teacher, teachers and parents was to build more and better equipped classrooms. For the SBMC and PTA members as well as one parent, fencing the compound was the top priority though the SBMC also highlighted the need to repair the leaking classroom roofs. Both the head teacher and pupils highlighted the school's lack of a water source. Pupils complained that they got thirsty during class and needed water to perform better; as one pupil put it: "We drink from the river; we are always thirsty and any time we are thirsty, we don't understand what our teachers are teaching us because of the thirst."

Security

Since the area was unfenced, pupils could easily leave the school ground compound while unauthorised outsiders had easy access, though the duty teacher attempted to regulate comings and goings, shooing away nursery school pupils who wandered over during lessons, or beating pupils who tried to nip out to buy from the hawkers during lessons. On one occasion a man was seen sitting under a tree at the edge of the compound in the centre of a group of JSS girls, in close physical proximity. At other times youths were seen lurking in the area, some apparently drinking alcohol. During break, motorbikes were seen driving across the compound and female traders sold fruit, sugar cane and cakes by the roadside. Children also crossed the road to the shop to buy snacks and pencils. Although the shopkeeper said it was not allowed during lessons, occasionally pupils were spotted sneaking over to the shop in class time. At break some pupils were observed disappearing into the residential area behind to eat breakfast. Some older girls were seen returning late after break having gone home to do chores in the meantime.

The proximity to the road was also a safety issue as pupils reported that children had been knocked down by traffic. As a result, the SS had asked the community not to drive their vehicles along the road, and they reported that the community had complied although several motorbikes were seen driving along the road and even across the compound. Before the start of school, villagers were seen cutting through the school to reach their farms and some visitors walked through during school hours, sometimes greeting teachers. Prefects said that when there were major events across the road, such as political rallies and community burials, pupils run out of class to watch.

Pupils also reported that some villagers defecate in the classrooms and so the prefects occasionally come and shout at them, though the head teacher felt this issue was not as bad as before. Although the bar adjacent to the shop was not open during the day, following a request by the school, several respondents confirmed that the compound becomes an extension of the bar area in the evening; loud music is played, hawkers trade and many villagers, including primary and junior secondary pupils, mainly boys, can be found there, sometimes up until midnight. Pupils

were observed clearing up the remains of the partying, such as sugar cane stalks and groundnut shells, before school the next day.

School routines

A time-keeping prefect (there are two, both male) usually rings the bell for lessons, or failing that, the head boy or a teacher. The main break for breakfast was an hour long although the school also had two short five-minute intervals. Lessons were from 7.30am to 1.30pm, or until noon during the exam period.

Assemblies occurred on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, according to pupils (though the head said that they were daily unless the weather was cold), from 7 to 7.30am although on the day assembly was observed it began at 7.55am on account of the cold weather, which had caused pupils to be late, according to the head. For assembly pupils lined up according to class, each in two lines: one for boys and one for girls. In some classes the smaller pupils were at the front and the taller ones at the back; in others pupils were mixed. In the assembly area there was a fallen flagpole and no flag.

In the only assembly observed the duty teacher greeted pupils by saying: "Good morning pupils", to which the pupils replied "Good morning Sirs" three times, bowing on each occasion. All pupils were asked to squat down while prayers were said and announcements made. On Mondays pupils are inspected (see *School management of pupils* below). Then the national anthem is sung and the national pledge recited. Pupils were seen to be struggling with the words. Pupils then march to class. After school has closed, pupils are made to squat under shade again, generally choosing to be in gender-specific groups, before being dismissed. Fewer pupils were evident than at morning assembly.

On Fridays there was general school cleaning organised by the male labour prefect. Duties were gendered: girls swept the compound while boys collected and disposed of the sweepings and picked up litter. Older pupils (Primary 3 to 6) also worked on the school farm (see *School management of pupils* below).

School management of staff

The head teacher pointed out that there were insufficient teachers in the school, causing classroom overcrowding (see *Classroom conditions and resources* below); in one case, three classes were split between two teachers.

In addition to teaching duties, staff had other responsibilities: male teachers were in charge of discipline, labour, games, counselling, health and the school farm; female teachers were in charge of debates, school houses and one was an assistant to the head teacher. The head teacher said he selected teachers who were capable, neat, sympathetic towards pupils and knowledgeable in the required area. For example the health teacher was the local chemist. The discipline teacher needed to be punctual and "active" but not necessarily male; a female could be appointed if qualified: "What men can do female can do even better, they are saying." The school counsellor generally dealt with absentee pupils, whose parents are called to the school for a talk. The duty teacher rotated on a weekly basis.

On the whole, the head teacher thought teachers in the school were committed, saying that they were willing come to school during school holidays to do community work, debates and games. The school counsellor also voiced the view that the "notorious" teachers had been transferred. Nevertheless, teacher absenteeism, sometimes for the whole day, was a concern raised by PTA members, who said that it affected pupil learning: "Wadansu yara ma sai su zo su wuni babu malamai a ajinsu, sai su koma gida" [Some children come to stay for the whole day without

teachers in their class so they go back home.] The head teacher also acknowledged that staff truancy and refusing to comply with the policy on not beating pupils were the main disciplinary issues. Teachers were seen signing an attendance register in the head teacher's office before school.

Some teachers were seen sitting around during lesson time and SBMC members reported that if they saw teachers doing this, they encouraged them to go to class. When confronted with disciplinary issues, the head teacher said he first counselled teachers, explaining that pupils "are given to us to take care of. We need to help them grow". If matters do not improve, the head said he reported teachers to the school supervisor and then to the ES. The head said the ES might transfer the teacher, stop their salaries or deduct pay from their salaries for the number of days they have been absent. Very serious offences were referred to the Board. However, the head teacher said that sometimes teachers harassed the head teacher when disciplined:

Affected teachers feel the impact. It never happened in my school, but in some schools they (teachers) harass the head teacher, by shouting at the head teacher that he causes this and that but they finally come to school to teach.

LGEA officials said that the main disciplinary issues regarding teachers related to absenteeism, drunkenness and misuse of loans. Cases of indiscipline were said to be more pronounced among (some) male teachers. The SBMC said that when members made unscheduled visits to the school, it called teachers to order by telling them not to sit about under trees but go to class. Indeed, on several visits, some teachers were seen sitting around outside during lesson time. However, one female parent said that teaching had improved since the arrival of the current head teacher.

School management of pupils

The LGEA said it did not approve of corporal punishment except in exceptional circumstances and cited a case of pupils breaking into the head teacher's office to steal materials. In that instance parents were summoned and the culprits were publicly flogged in front of other pupils.

The head teacher confirmed that Kanti Primary School discipline policy was also one of no corporal punishment. Yet at the same time, he admitted that they sometimes caned pupils and that only female teachers were allowed to cane female pupils.

Head teacher: The school policy on discipline says the child who misbehaves or steals or fights for instance, must be investigated before he is disciplined. If a child steals we do cane him sometimes. We don't allow male teachers to discipline girls but it depends on the offence committed. If it requires caning, we don't allow male teachers to cane girls; we ask female teachers to cane girls.

Researcher: Do you have school policy on discipline?

Head teacher: Yes, normally, well, corporal punishment, we do it before but now we don't give it. We substitute it with simple, simple discipline like asking the child to kneel down, fetch water to water flowers/trees, go round the classes and another by caning them.

Moreover, researcher observations and pupil interviews confirmed that the practice was widespread with teachers, prefects and monitors beating pupils. They were often seen carrying canes both at break and during lesson time. Pupils were beaten for latecoming, absenteeism, fighting, stealing, noise making, and missing class. According to the community leader, pupils without uniform, however, were allowed to come to school although the head teacher recounted a case in which a parent had complained to him that their child had been excluded from school for wearing a "shabby" uniform.

Boys, pupils agreed, were beaten on the buttocks, generally by male teachers, and girls on the palm of the hand, or on the back of the leg, usually by female teachers. Other punishments, for both male and female pupils, included being made to pick up litter, fetching water, weeding, sweeping the compound and running round the classrooms. In addition, boys were made to frog-jump and kneel down. The head teacher said that girls were not made to kneel down because “we want to see that the condition given to males is different to the one given to the girls because of their nature.” However, pupil accounts suggest both girls and boys were punished by kneeling and both could be beaten on the buttocks. Girls were reportedly sent to clean the toilets. Pupils maintained that both male and female teachers flogged pupils, though some thought male teachers tended to beat pupils more, an impression that may partly be due to the fact that the school has almost three times more male teachers than females.

In one assembly, pupils were seen with their hands outstretched as teachers went round inspecting pupils’ nails, hair and general neatness – a weekly occurrence, according to the head teacher. One female teacher was witnessed caning almost all pupils across the fingers for being dirty until stopped by the head teacher.

According to one senior prefect, pupils with poor attendance, such as missing a whole term “are made to go and weed the [school] farm; they will not be taught in class; they will suffer in the farm for almost the whole day. They only mix with other pupils during break time.” The head teacher also explained that despite parental protests, some pupils with “poor attendance” are made to repeat the year. This particular year there were 14 boys and eight girls repeating within the school.

Although the male pupils interviewed thought that discipline was fair in the school, one girl thought it was unfair, explaining: “flogging makes pupils cry, [be] angry and annoyed” Moreover, both girls and boys thought that corporal punishment discouraged school enrolment and affected their concentration and emotional wellbeing. As one male pupil put it: “Flogging put my mind off school”. One group of male pupils also thought corporal punishment led to dropout.

Pupils were sent to either the discipline teacher or school counsellor, depending on the offence. The counsellor reported showing boys who urinated on classroom walls where to urinate, and explaining to dirty pupils how they could clean themselves up. He also called parents to talk to them about their sons if they are up late carousing in the compound:

If you come here in the evenings, you see them here, this man who operates music here, you see them dancing till 10 or so in the night. They are always sleeping in class.

Parents sometimes brought their own children to school to be disciplined. Two of the parents interviewed said that in particular they reported boys absenting themselves from school, and asked the head teacher to discipline them. He reportedly gave them four to five strokes of the cane.

Prefects and monitors were also selected to help manage and discipline pupils. Teachers and prefects agreed that prefects, including the head girl and boy, were appointed based on academic proficiency, punctuality, good attendance, and neat appearance. Pupils and teachers said that class monitors were selected on the basis of test performance. Pupils got to choose their monitor from a boy and girl nominated by the teacher. Monitors were in charge of the class in the absence of the teacher and were expected to report any wrongdoing to the teacher so pupils could be punished although, as mentioned earlier, some took matters into their own hands.

The school had numerous prefects, a number of which were female:

They give girls prefects ranging from head girl, assistant head girl, office girl, and assistant office girl etc. The office girls are two in number who are grown up that started developing breasts. Their work is to call girls to go and fetch water (male prefect)

The two timekeepers who ring the school bell and two labour prefects were all male. Prefects were seen beating latecomers and pupils they did not think were applying themselves to sweeping the compound before school. Generally male prefects beat male pupils on the buttocks whereas female prefects tended to beat female pupils on the hand or on the back. At the same time JSS prefects, were seen disciplining latecoming JSS students, who were crossing the primary compound to get to school.

One of the labour prefects, in charge of school cleaning on Fridays, reported that girls swept the compound and classrooms while boys collected and disposed of the litter and moved the furniture in the classroom “because they’re stronger”. Before assembly pupils were seen in regimented lines moving across the school sweeping the compound with prefects beating any pupils they perceived to be lazy or who had not made a brush for the sweeping. Other examples of child labour in school included getting pupils to fetch sand and water for the construction work, which the school had initiated in response to the SBMC and PTA’s stated intention to build more classrooms. According to the PTA, the head teacher was arranging a timetable for pupils to fetch water. Girls also fetched water from the borehole to store in pots in the offices for teachers and pupils to drink, according to one villager. There was also a rota for pupils to weed the school farm during the rainy season on Fridays, which was the general labour day. The farm teacher, who also taught Social Studies and Agriculture, said that four to five times a year on Fridays pupils from Primary 3 to 6 weed the fields according to class group. Some hoes were provided by the school and others were brought from home. This teacher also allocated pupils to water the mango trees in the school compound.

Pupil lateness and absenteeism were considered the major disciplinary issues. Some SBMC members laid the blame on the school for persistent pupil lateness, maintaining that pupils came late because of a lack of school discipline. Various educational stakeholders emphasised that pupil lateness was heavily dependent on the leadership of the school administration. According to the head teacher, however, the teacher in charge of discipline was responsible for dealing with latecomers and absentees. The duty teacher was also in evidence before school during lesson and at break, for example disciplining (including beating) pupils or controlling hawkers. The discipline teacher said that he occasionally had to break up fights between boys at break.

SBMC members said that whenever they visited the school, they also encouraged teachers to discipline pupils seen outside when they should be in class. One female teacher thought flogging would improve pupil punctuality although another teacher pointed out that the head teacher gave rewards for punctuality. The head confirmed that he gave out outdated textbooks for those who turn up on the first day of term as an incentive to improve attendance. Teachers’ views on how to improve attendance varied from talking to parents to punishing pupils by making them wash the toilets.

According to one LGEA official:

Discipline is synonymous with punishment. Children should be corrected when they go wrong but this should depend on the level of the offence. In addition, consideration should be given to age, family background as well as to his academic performance when meting out punishment to pupils.

Pupil–pupil relations

At break the atmosphere was generally calm with pupils usually playing in age-related, gender-segregated groups: boys played football, wrestled with each other or made crafts while girls chatted, sang and played clapping or ball games. Some pupils, mainly boys, played on the JSS playing field. A school ball, prefects explained, was purchased from proceeds from the school farm and given alternately to boys then girls to play with.

Although pupils confirmed that in general they got on well, the school counsellor said that bullying was very common:

When some grown-up pupils bully the younger ones, I used to bring them nearer to understand each other. These are some of the problems that are common in this school. Sometimes after advising them not to fight on the way, they will still fight and bully one another.

Moreover, on the way home from school some boys were seen kicking each other and girls shouting at each other. The prefects too admitted that both boys and girls fight, especially boys, though they simultaneously denied the existence of bullying and teasing. Teachers maintained that in general boys teased girls and the head teacher mentioned that overage boys sometimes bullied other pupils.

Young boys were also seen reporting cases of bullying by older boys to the duty teacher, who would go off in search of the bullies or have them called, in order to tell them to desist. Girls in particular were said to tease absentees with songs and by laughing at them on their return, which made them shy. As one girl admitted: *Muna yi masu dariya sai ta ji kunya. Wani lokachi muna zolayan su da waka*” [We laugh at absentees and they feel shy. Sometimes we use songs to tease them.] In contrast, one group of male pupils said they tried to encourage the absentees.

Several male prefects were seen wandering round, carrying sticks, including the school labour prefect, who said that other pupils would not do what he said unless he carried a stick. JSS pupils sometimes wandered over to the primary school area during break. At break some pupils were seen buying food from fellow pupil traders and some younger boys were also seen teasing young girls and touching them on the head.

In the classroom

Classroom conditions and resources

As highlighted earlier, Primary 1 classes were held under shade. In addition to the small chalkboard, teachers were also seen drawing in the earth as a means of teaching. Otherwise, conditions improved as pupils moved up the grade. Specifically, this meant that at one end of the scale, Primary 2 classes were held in a dark earth-floor room with termite mounds, filthy walls, piles of rubble and metal sheeting in the corner, as well as a collapsing roof, and an illegible board. Some pupils were seated on planks; others sat on the bare floor. In contrast, Primary 6 pupils learned in a lighter and brighter classroom which had been recently renovated by the state; it possessed a good cement floor, legible chalkboards and pupils were seated on proper benches with desks. The classrooms in between suffered variously from pot-holed floors, illegible boards, broken or insufficient furniture, termite mounds, broken doors or windows. Several let in insufficient light. In two observed lessons, the class was disrupted because poor light caused by rain forced pupils to crowd forward mid-lesson in order to be able to see the board. In another lesson a leaking roof forced pupils to move to another part of the classroom.

The state of the classrooms and lack of adequate furniture was a major concern for pupils, teachers, school management, parents and other community members. Parents were particularly upset that some pupils were still learning under trees and the community leader reported that pupils complained of pain in their buttocks from sitting on tree trunks. Teachers agreed that poor

classroom conditions adversely affected pupil learning, as did parents, who also highlighted poor chalkboards and overcrowded classrooms as major impediments to pupil learning. The PTA and SBMC thought that poor learning conditions affected girls in particular though did not elaborate. Pupils too emphasised the point that clean classrooms also helped them learn while bemoaning the fact that sometimes faeces were found in the classroom. Some also complained that the noise from passing traffic disturbed classroom learning as did the fact they were constantly thirsty (see *School buildings and facilities* above).

The head teacher also noted that villagers had frequently used the classrooms as toilets when he first came to the school. One teacher cited poor classroom conditions as the thing they most disliked about teaching.

In the eight classes observed most pupils had pencils and exercise books and in several classes some pupils had improvised school bags using plastic bags or grain sacks. One male teacher noted that teachers sometimes provided pens or pencils for poor pupils. Observations indicated that textbook provision varied. In two classes all pupils had textbooks; in two classes pupils shared textbooks and in the remaining four no textbooks were in evidence. Teachers, including the head teacher, complained of a shortage of teaching materials although the school supervisor commented that textbook provision had improved over the last few years:

A few years back there were no textbooks by the government. But this time now there are sufficient textbooks... Pupils will feel happy to get it because each and everyone has his own textbook.

Nevertheless, children were not allowed to take books home as they were needed for the next class, yet pupils felt that provision of free textbooks would help reduce dropout. A similar view was held by the community leader, who thought that provision of textbooks would motivate pupils to read and study at home and therefore improve exam performance.

In the observed classes teachers all had chalk though parents mentioned that sometimes chalk was not available and the school had to borrow from the junior secondary school. Prefects added that sometimes chalk was bought with the proceeds from the school farm.

Seating arrangements

In the eight observed lessons, class sizes ranged from 25–55 (11–20 girls; 14–36 boys) with more boys than girls in each class although in one class there was near gender parity. There was severe overcrowding on limited furniture, which teachers noted negatively affected pupils' learning. In the worst class, out of 51 pupils, eight girls were seated on logs, five boys were on broken benches and the rest were on the floor. Where there were benches, they were in three columns with aisles in between and 2–4 rows, depending on availability of furniture. There was gender-segregated seating in six out of the eight classes, with more mixed seating in the other two classes. Generally boys enclosed the girls, notably by the windows and with the bigger boys, some of whom were overage, tending to be at the back. In one class where a girl was seated with three boys, she kept her distance from them on the bench.

Pupils were allowed to choose who they sat next to in general although the head teacher said he tried to encourage mixed seating between boys and girls, in part because "if you group girls in the same bench they will not pay attention to the teacher; they will be playing." However, he admitted that once the teacher was out of the room the pupils tended to revert back to gender-segregated seating. Latecomers generally got the worse seating although prefects said that some boys and girls liked to tease other pupils by prodding or poking them or exchanging words and sometimes forced their way onto the benches.

Pedagogy (including teacher–pupil relations)

The eight lessons observed exemplified traditional didactic learning with the teacher standing at the front of the class by the board. Five lessons consisted predominantly of teacher monologue; three classes were slightly more interactive with the teacher demanding more choral and individual responses from pupils and the teacher moved more freely round the room. Pupils were also asked to copy from the board in several classes. In the only lesson observed in which a textbook was used, the teacher read aloud from the textbook before asking selected pupils to read passages aloud, stopping for individual pupils to spell and pronounce particular words. “You don’t know how to read until you can spell and pronounce words,” the teacher told them. In a couple of Maths classes pupils were invited to the board to solve problems; in both classes only boys were selected. In one of the classes, neither of the two pupils was able to do the task. Teachers were generally supportive in their manner except for one older male teacher, who clearly intimidated the pupils. No teaching aids besides the chalkboard were used in any of the lessons.

Questions were generally closed and demanded choral response, and in some cases included the rhetorical “isn’t it?”, to which all pupils inevitably responded “yes”. But in some classes questions were more open; three classes involved more individual questioning and in one class the teacher even responded to questions initiated by pupils. In two classes pupils rarely responded to teacher questions; the other four classes offered slightly more pupil participation. The teacher was observed praising pupil contributions in two lessons.

Three lessons observed were conducted almost wholly in English and one was conducted almost exclusively in Hausa despite the fact that the teacher was a Higgi speaker and some pupils were struggling at times to understand Hausa. The others were conducted in a mix of English and Hausa, with some Higgi included in one lesson. The degree of pupil understanding was difficult to gauge, especially when the teacher predominantly lectured. Pupil and teacher views on the medium of instruction were mixed; some preferred learning in English, others in a local language but more preferred a mix of the two. Two of the teachers acknowledged that pupils often struggled to learn in English and there was recognition that this contributed to low levels of pupil participation in class but teachers maintained that pupils liked English. Although two male teachers said they liked and felt comfortable teaching in English, another female teacher admitted she found it difficult. One PTA member thought that teachers’ poor grasp of English was a barrier to pupil learning. The school supervisor too was adamant that pupils’ poor grasp of English constituted a major access issue: “Pupils are running away to hear [from hearing] English – they don’t want to hear. They want merely to be taught in Hausa, which is impossible. We don’t encourage them as a supervisor.” He advised teachers not to instruct in local languages except as a last resort. Indeed SBMC members were of the opinion that pupils’ learning would improve if teachers stopped using local languages in class.

Although pupil and teacher views were mixed about whether girls and boys participated equally in class, the majority, including both male and female respondents, thought that boys participated more, which most lesson observations confirmed although it should be reiterated that boys outnumbered girls substantially in most of the classes. Greater class participation by (some) boys was attributed by various individuals to girls’ shyness or inattentiveness and to boys feeling “freer”, talking a lot, and/or learning faster. One boy gave various reasons for greater participation by boys:

Boys do better in class. Girls don’t speak in English. They don’t read at home. They always go out in the night to play. They do fail to come to school always, because of going to [the] farm. They don’t answer questions in class and if I answer questions in class they tell me that I am claiming – I am bragging.

Importantly, however, most teachers considered class participation to be low in general, which they variously ascribed to poor teaching methods, pupils' lack of English, shyness and lack of confidence.

Overage pupils were singled out; one group of girls felt that overage boys were slow, did not concentrate and "played a lot" and one girl said that overage girls "follow boys in the night so do not perform". Pupils said that those who were often absent from class failed exams. The counselling teacher also organised "catch-up" classes after school for overage pupils.

All pupils interviewed initially responded that generally teaching was good in the school since the new head teacher had arrived though later some pupils offered the opinion that better teaching would encourage dropouts back into school:

Sai a dinga koyar ma yara abu. Idan a kwai wani a anguwansu ya iya karatu, to su ma zasu so wannan har su dawo makaranta su nemi gafara a wurin malamai. [They should be teaching pupils very well. For instance, if one pupil in the neighbourhood knows how to read, this will attract dropouts to come back and ask teachers for forgiveness to allow them continue schooling.]

The community leader was of the view that there was a lack of proper teaching, a view shared by one male parent. Some teachers also thought that better teaching, including getting teachers to work harder would help reduce repetition rates, which they thought affected boys in particular. Female parents, however, thought that teaching had improved since the arrival of the current head teacher: "*Gaskiya madam, tun da aka kawo headmastan nan, ana samun koyarwa; gaskiya.*" [Truly, madam, since the coming of this new head teacher, pupils get teaching here, truly speaking].

One male pupil who had transferred from a school in Abuja bemoaned the lack of seriousness of teachers, and thought more class and homework, as well as computers would help pupils to learn better: "*Aji dayawa idan an gina zai taimakemu; kuma ba a teaching mana computer.*" [More classes will help us learn better but they don't teach us computer.]

Most pupils thought that female and male teachers taught in the same way, though a couple of boys disagreed; one boy claimed that male teachers taught more subjects than female teachers and were more intelligent.

A kwai wani mallam da an yi transfer nashi, yana koya mana subject da yawa amma mache bata yin haka. Teacher na miji yafi ilimi. A kwai wata madam a class five ta rubuta assignment wa kannena, question nata shine wane abu ne zaka yi kayi zufa?; sai mun rubuta idan ka zauna kusa da wuta, kayi gudu, idan ka chi abinchi zaka yi zufa; sai ta sa masu poor. Amma idan na miji ne zai duba sai ya bamu good. [There was a teacher who has been transferred; he used to teach us many subjects but women teachers don't do that. Male teachers are more intelligent. There is a madam in class five, she gave assignment to my younger siblings her question was what makes people to sweat? We wrote that if you sit near fire, run, eat food you will sweat; but she put 'poor' for them. But if it were a male teacher, he would check the answers and give them 'good'.]

Conversely, most teachers thought male and female teachers differed in teaching style though did not elaborate. The head teacher said he talked to teachers about approaches to learning urging them to vary their teaching styles if pupils did not understand.

The ES saw varied teaching methods as the way to encourage better pupil attendance: "Debates, quiz, debates, games and actual teaching influence pupils coming to school."

Pupil performance

Pupil and teacher views were similarly mixed about gender trends in exam and test performance though more pupils thought that boys performed better than girls whereas more teachers

thought that girls in general did better than boys, including the head teacher, because of (some) boys' lack of interest in school. No marksheets or hard evidence were produced to substantiate these claims. Conversely, the PTA thought that girls valued schooling more. The head teacher also attributed the poor performance of some boys to their attendance at the beer parlour:

If you come here in the evening till midnight you see them here listening to music from the beer parlour man selling cassettes. Even the JJS boys come here. The beer man says he opens only in the evening and that is his means of livelihood. It's not easy; even the village head can not stop him selling in the evenings.

The community leader and the PTA thought that pupils that attended the community pre-school in the church generally did well in school.

SBMC and PTA members claimed that around 95% of pupils went on to JSS. The former, however, thought predominantly boys dropped out after primary, whereas the latter thought more girls did, in order to marry.

Discipline

No physical or harsh verbal disciplining was witnessed in six of the eight classes observed although pupils and teachers both confirmed that corporal punishment was widely practised in the school, and indeed was witnessed outside the classroom. Since it was not clear from interviews to what extent physical punishment was applied in the classroom, rather than for more general school offences, it was discussed in greater detail in *School management of pupils*, above. However, the majority of teachers interviewed said pupils received a warning before they were physically punished and one male teacher said that after a warning he usually sent the pupil to the (male) teacher in charge of school discipline.

Monitors and prefects were not identifiable in the lesson observations, perhaps because teachers were present, although one group of pupils confirmed that in the teacher's absence monitors reported the name of pupils who misbehaved to the teacher for punishment.

Several verbal reprimands were witnessed, however. In one of the lessons almost entirely in English, a mixed group of girls and boys was told off for not participating in the class: "You on this side, what is wrong with you? You are not saying anything." In one class two girls were made to stand because they were unable to read a passage of text aloud; in another a female pupil was verbally reprimanded for being distracted; in one a group of boys was verbally reprimanded for pushing and shoving each other; in another, a couple of boys were called to the board to solve a problem, seemingly as a disciplinary move because they were not paying attention. Other activities, such as a young girl counting money in the front row of one class, and a boy not in uniform playing with a torch were overlooked.

Pupil-pupil relations

In most of the classes pupils appeared to get on well and there was some cross-gender interaction and sharing of materials. In the class with the intimidating older male teacher, however, pupils sat in total silence, and in one class, girls tended to interact with girls, and boys with boys. Pupil views on the matter, however, differed markedly; while the boys interviewed thought all pupils got on well together, the girls did not and even the boys admitted that pupils preferred to sit in gender-segregated groups and that pupils teased each other in class, reported on each other and fought.

Mata suna zama stakaninsu suna sururtu. A break ma basu wasa da maza. [Girls sit on their own making noise. Even at break time girls don't play with boys.] (male pupil)

Bamu wasa tare, amma manyan yan maza sai su sa kafa wa yan mata kanana don su fadi . [We don't play together; only older boys put their legs in the way of younger girls so they can fall over] (male pupil)

Girls in particular said they preferred to sit away from boys because classmates would tease each other about being husband and wife but because of overcrowding they were often forced to sit together on the same bench. The teachers also agreed that boys tease girls and one male teacher said that sometimes boys needed to be separated in class.

AlB2.2 Family and community

Socio-economic activities

As stated earlier, the community was primarily a farming community with some villagers involved in petty trading. Pupils knew of children in the village who had never enrolled in school because of poverty and the need for children to earn money. All school and community interviewees agreed that the need for child labour either farming or trading were major causes of lateness, absenteeism – sometimes for as long as a term – and dropout, with trading affecting boys in particular. However, one PTA member also implied that once boys got a taste for earning money they could lose interest in school: “*Idan sun fara sayan jeans, shikenan sai su manta da makaranta* [Once they start buying jeans, they forget school.].

Pupils also confirmed that many children arrived late for school because they are sent to farm before school (which one male parent blamed on mothers). Boys in particular are also absent from school on the two main market days. Various community members confirmed that petty trading, often with family knowledge, is a major cause of irregular attendance and often leads to dropout among boys. Hawking was also mentioned by the SBMC as an impediment to girls' learning and performance.

The ES confirmed that school attendance was poor in the rainy season across the LGA as children were needed to farm and look after animals. He reported that in the mountain villages (where some of the Kanti pupils originated from) many of the men went to Borno to trade, leaving the children as young as ten at home to fend for themselves while the mothers were out farming.

Families (including religion, ethnicity and educational choice)

In addition to engaging in economic activity outside the home, pupils said they all did household chores, which also made them late for school. One parent explained that girls cooked food, washed plates and fetched water while the boys fed the animals. Several adults noted that girls' school attendance was more affected as they did more chores, and additionally were sometimes made to take care of siblings. Distance from school was also mentioned as a reason for latecoming as some pupils came from up to 8km away.

SBMC and PTA members, parents and the school supervisor confirmed that families were often unable to pay the PTA levy and/or provide the requisite school materials or uniform to enable children to attend school. The school supervisor also noted that some pupils' earnings were used to pay the PTA levy.

All pupils interviewed said they had missed the odd day at school, citing ill health and bereavement in addition to the aforementioned economic reasons for absenteeism. Sickness and hunger were also highlighted by teachers and PTA members as causes of absenteeism. As one PTA member commented: “*Idan yaro yazo makaranta du yunwa, ba zai iya yin karatu ba*” [If a child comes to school hungry, they will not be able to learn.]. One parent said that if he met a pupil out of school because they were ill, he went to the chemist to buy them medicine.

A number of educational stakeholders interviewed thought that pupil non-enrolment, absenteeism or dropout was also due to lack of parental interest in education, or “the ignorance of parents”, as one put it. The head teacher, however, suggested otherwise, saying that most parents in the community felt that they had been cheated of the opportunity to go to school by their own parents so were keen for their children to benefit. The PTA also said that some parents were not at all interested in education. One male parent, however, pointed to the unemployment of school-leavers as a reason for doubting the value of schooling: “Those who finished school did not get jobs so what are they going to do in school?” Indeed among a group of older youths hanging around the school, apparently drinking alcohol, one said he had completed senior secondary school but with no money to pursue higher education he had returned to farming.

Pupils and parents acknowledged that pupils who had older siblings received help from them with schoolwork though some had nobody at home to assist.

Absence of parental supervision, especially during the rainy season, was also identified as a factor affecting children’s attendance and/or performance, according to some PTA and SBMC members and pupils. They also thought that some parents were unable to control (some) male children, who gave in to peer pressure and went and play with friends: *I dan wani yaro baya ji kusa da wani sai ya shafe shi ya fara bin abokanai suna rashin ji.* [If a boy stays with another boy that is stubborn, he will influence him to follow friends to start misbehaving].

The SBMC reported that some parents sent their children to school but were unaware that they did not actually go to school. Pupils also pointed out that even when parents reported their son’s absence from school, the boys themselves would run away. Several respondent groups mentioned pupils, especially boys “absenting themselves” without offering an explanation. One person put it down to “stubbornness”.

Punctuality and attendance at schools in the area were also affected by environmental factors. As the school supervisor pointed out, since family homes had no electricity, children woke up with the light. However, during the rainy season and the months of the Harmattan (November/December), the skies remained dark and so the children woke up later. The school supervisor therefore urged school heads to adjust their school timetable accordingly though no evidence was given as to whether any had complied. In the LGA’s mountainous terrains, in particular, it was explained, access was sometimes impossible during the rains when the slopes become treacherous and the river valleys flooded.

Early marriage and/or pregnancy was cited as a reason by some pupils and teachers for some girls dropping out of school although the JSS teachers interviewed said that a number returned to school after getting divorced.

In addition, one senior LGEA official said that in mountain communities some Higgi parents did not allow their children to come to school because of a long-held belief that any kind of schooling was negatively associated with the conquering Fulani leader Hamman Yaji (Ruler of Madagali from 1912-1927) who had tried to convert villagers to Islam.

Several pupils said that the reason they went to the case study school was because their parents did not have enough money to send them to a better private school. Several respondents expressed the need for another school in the village. Although there was no pre-school in the village the church ran a nursery school. Both the community leader and a PTA member thought that it provided a good foundation for school, especially in spoken English.

Although all pupils and parents interviewed underlined the importance of a formal education for both girls and boys, gender-typed views on the relative value and/or reasons for schooling were expressed by several respondents that saw education as a means for girls to obtain better husbands or to help their husbands while allowing male pupils to be more successful family breadwinners, as the following comments illustrate:

Female pupils come to school to compete with men, help [their] future husband and male pupils meet the needs of the family. (male pupil)

Pupils are not in school for the same reason; boys are to take good care of their responsibility for keeping their families; even though girls have to be in school so that her life will not be somehow – i.e. getting married early. If a woman is not educated before thirty years [old] ‘she don go down now’ so that’s the reason why you see women struggling for education in order to get [a] better life in the future. (female teacher)

Mutanen mu sun fi son maza suyi makaranta fiye da yanmata sai su che ina ruwan su da yarinya, abun da zasu je su yi aure, me ya dame ni da ita. Amma wanda suka gane abu kam, zasu che wanene ba mutum ba? Duk wanda Allah ya taimake shi duk zasu taimake ni” [Our people here prefer their male children to go to school than female children. They will always say, what is their concern with female children, after all they will only marry; I have no concern with her. But those people that understand some things, they always say all children can be good, any one of them that God helps will assist us]. (community leader)

Makaranta yana da amfani ma duka mata da maza. Makaranta; duk wanda bai yi makaranta ba, yawo zai bashi wahala. Domin makaranta yana koya ma mutum ilimi, ko da baka sami aikin government ba, zai iya koya maka zama da jama’a da hakuri, kuma ya san irin zaman da zai yi da jama’a [Schooling is important to both female and male children. Schooling, anyone that did not go to school will find it difficult to travel. Schooling teaches people knowledge, even if you did not get [a] government job, you will know how to live with people.] (male parent)

Makaranta yafi anfanan na miji domin zai kula da gida da iyayenshi amma mata zasu yi aure kawai. [Schooling is more important to males because he will take care of his family and his parents but females will only go and marry.] (male parent)

Mata sun fi maza kula da iyaye ; wane namiji ne zai tashi yaje wajen mamansa yace; mama me yake damun ki? [Females take good care of parents more than males; which man will go to his mother and ask her: Mama what is disturbing you?] (female parent)

The head teacher acknowledged that “some ladies say that if they do not get a good education they will not get a good husband” but he was adamant that girls should be educated for their own sake and not just to secure a husband.

Community–school relations

Community–school relations were considered to be “cordial” by the community leader, and “good” by the head teacher. The community leader was formerly head of the PTA but now acted as an advisor to the PTA executive, meeting the head teacher and staff before meetings to help draw up the agenda. School–community communication occurred primarily through the PTA, and to a lesser extent the SBMC. Significantly the parents interviewed had never heard of the SBMC although that might have been because the committee had not been functioning. The head expected matters to improve now that the chair had been replaced and an action plan had been made. According to the community leader, the two executive boards held termly meetings, informing members by letter or phone call. Parents were informed about PTA-initiated community meetings through the ward heads. The SBMC executive had 19 members including four women. The head girl and boy were nominally included on the list but in practice never participated. The PTA executive had a membership of eight, two of whom were women.

Nevertheless, all six interviewees were men. The PTA said there was no CBO or NGO support for the school though the community leader said occasionally individual community members made donations of money or uniforms. The parents interviewed thought that in general the PTA represented their interests well.

The PTA levy was used to build and repair classrooms, as well as to provide furniture and chalk. Parents also provided labour for school construction and repair work. While acknowledging parents' support for the school, teachers variously thought parents could additionally protect school property, discipline pupils, donate more money and/or provide more furniture and teachers.

In addition to the levy parents were expected to provide writing materials and school uniforms for their children except for Primary 1 girls, whose uniform was provided by the state. According to the community leader, the school complained to parents through the PTA about some boys and girls lacking school uniforms though parents responded that they did not have enough money. Various respondent groups, however, admitted that inability to pay the levy and/or provide school uniforms was a cause of pupil dropout.

Issues of concern voiced by the SBMC include pupil lateness, poor attendance and dropout. The executive said they called on selected community individuals to advise on such matters. Teachers and the SBMC emphasised the need for proper communication between the community and the school although both the SBMC and PTA said they talked to parents about pupils' poor attendance and absenteeism. One male teacher wanted the guidance and counselling officer to counsel parents about pupil absenteeism. The church pastor said he tried to mobilise parents but one teacher thought the church should do more to mobilise parents to enrol children in school.

The main source of conflict between the school and some villagers related to the issue of land and water. Previously, the head teacher explained, the borehole had belonged to the school as it was drilled on what he claimed was school land, where the head teacher's house was once located – itself a bone of contention: “*Ba karamin battle mu ke yi da mutane a kan wannan abun ba*” [We do have a serious battle with the people on this land issue]. However, the borehole got damaged. The school was unable to repair it but the community did and so now controlled the pump. The key to the pump was with a man who lived by the borehole and despite requests by the village head, he refused to give a key to the school, and access was denied after 10am.

The school farm, which was worked by pupils under supervision from the Agriculture teacher, was also a matter of tension between some parents and the school. According to one male parent, parents did not know where the farm profits went and yet even young pupils were made to work on the farm:

We don't know where the proceeds go to. In the past, they process groundnut cakes and distribute to pupils, buy school materials for pupils, they organize [a] party for graduating students, all from the proceeds of the farm. They ask all pupils to bring hoes from their homes to weed the farm; they don't care whether the children are small or big.

Previously, he said the school harvested and processed the groundnuts, distributing the resulting cakes to pupils, and using the proceeds to buy drugs for first aid and to pay for passing out parties for the pupils. Parents also suggested using the proceeds from the farm to buy books, pencils and pens to be kept in the office for pupils. Yet the prefects dismissed these concerns, ascribing them to jealousy (though the possible origin of the jealousy was not made clear): “Leave them, they are the jealous ones; they always talk like that.” The prefects said that the produce was still taken from the fields and food cooked for pupils while the head teacher, farm

teacher and prefects maintained that the proceeds from the surplus farm produce sold still went towards purchasing prizes, drugs for the first aid store, chalk and a school ball.

The PTA also said that some parents were not sending their children to Kanti because the school's name did not reflect the name of the community (see also Section 2.3 *LGEA–community relations*).

AIB2.3 The LGEA

LGEA/LGA internal relations

There was disagreement within the LGEA staff as to whether difficult terrain (e.g. living on a mountain or across a river) was still posing an access problem for some communities within the LGA. While one officer thought it did, another maintained that the issue had been resolved within the LGA by locating new schools in mountainside villages and at river crossings.

There was agreement, however, that a standardised salary structure, improved infrastructure and office accommodation and instructional materials could help LGEA officials carry out their work more effectively. One officer also thought the LGEA office should be separated from the LGC Secretariat as they were often locked out by council staff during protests.

Questions were raised about the lack of transparency in the appointment of school supervisors. The view was that appointments should follow procedure and be based on exam performance but “political considerations override rules and procedures.” Some who reportedly did not even attend the interview were said to have been appointed in some LGAs.

A further issue raised was the fact that the LGEA had had to wait 12 weeks for a date to be set by government for the common entrance exam.

At the time of the research there was only an acting ES and LGEA members questioned why it was taking so long for one to be appointed.

School governance

The head teacher said that the ES and SS were supportive of the school and that the three of them met on a termly basis.

However, the ES said that the District Education Committee had ceased to function after 2004/2005 while the LGEC was waiting to be constituted now that nominations had been forwarded to the state. Nevertheless, he still thought both bodies were still relevant though he did not elaborate further.

Teachers complained about poor pay and promotion prospects, lack of materials and training as well as teacher shortages. The lack of teachers, and qualified teachers in particular, was also highlighted by the PTA and the head teacher and identified as a barrier to pupil learning and a possible cause of dropout. Although the head conceded that recently more teachers had been provided, he also pointed out that around half were still untrained. The lack of trained teachers was also one of the community leader's concerns. Pupils said they were still lacking teachers for Maths, Hausa, English and Computing. The PTA said the LGEA had advised the PTA to build classrooms, merge classes or send pupils away.

The head teacher also recognised the improvement in textbook provision:

And we thank the present government that they have started improving because now since last term we have been receiving these textbooks. As of now I can go into a class and ask pupils to open a page and they can read it. There is an improvement.

Parents also recognised that the LGEA was providing books but, along with the teachers, thought that more could be supplied. Textbook provision by the LGEA was seen by various respondent groups as an important incentive for pupil enrolment and learning. The lack of teaching guides was seen by the ES as a major issue affecting teaching quality.

School support

Teachers also confirmed regular inspection visits to the school by both the ES and the SS, which included meetings with teachers. However, they still felt more support and training was needed. The ES recognised that incentives such as sponsorship for workshops or further studies or promotion were important, to boost teacher morale. Two male teachers from Kanti had recently been on in-service training to upgrade their qualifications. The head teacher said the ES had been counselling teachers that they must teach pupils to learn to read and write and characterised visits by the ES as follows:

Any time he [ES] sees pupils who are not able to perform he will not tolerate such a class teacher. He says he will terminate his service or take him to a place whereby he will feel it. No-one wants to see they have been punished or sacked out from service.

There was acknowledgement by various LGEA and school and community members that government was trying hard to improve school amenities and resources and that when disasters occurred in schools, such as the roof collapsing, the Board would provide roofing sheets and technical support by sending professionals to the school. The ES explained:

Some of the Board's actions have had a positive impact on access. For instance, when the Board carried out renovations in Central Primary School – an urban school – the old roofing sheets were given to schools where pupils were still learning under the tree. This has motivated more parents to bring their children to school as they now consider school safer.

Nevertheless, all parties agreed that more government assistance was required.

Last term the LGEA had reportedly suggested the head teacher draw up a list of pupils who miss school regularly and the ES had said he would check up on them. These were generally overage boys; some had reportedly returned and were doing catch-up classes whereas others had not. The ES said he had also settled a matter regarding land for the head teacher's house, which the previous owner had wanted back, and had caused a lot of friction between the community and the school, which the head teacher confirmed. The community had apparently not mentioned the issue again since the intervention by the ES.

LGEA–community relations

Communication between the community and the LGEA also appeared to occur primarily through the PTA. For example the community had channelled requests for more classrooms and school fencing and had asked for the school's name to be changed, a request which had been forwarded to ADSUBEB. Parents said that although the PTA had meetings with the ES, parents did not meet directly with him.

The community leader and the PTA clearly had regular communication with the LGEA. For example, the community leader had been invited to an advocacy workshop on encouraging community members to enrol their pupils, and encouraging those who had dropped out of school to return. The PTA confirmed that both the ES and SS attended PTA meetings.

The ES was convinced that the way to combat school absenteeism in general was for the Departments of Social Mobilisation and School Services to work together with school supervisors and church and mosque leaders to talk to families with low attendance. In particular LGEA officials highlighted the importance of the PTA, saying that they ensured the LGEA sent a representative to every PTA meeting. The SS reportedly sometimes gathered parents together, called by the PTA executive, to tell them about the importance of education, and to persuade them that getting a formal education was more important than ever now because of the lack of availability of farmland to cultivate.

It was also suggested that Board members should interact with parents, especially during PTA meetings. Teachers seemed convinced that it was the LGEA's responsibility to mobilise parents or as one teacher put it: "call parents to order". Pupils and one teacher also thought government should subsidise the PTA levy to improve enrolment and retention.

AIB3. EDUCATIONAL ACCESS, QUALITY & PUPIL OUTCOMES – A SUMMARY

AIB3.1 Infrastructure and security

- Lack of, or poor quality school infrastructure seriously affected the quality of pupils' learning experience: e.g. shortage of, and poor quality classrooms and furniture and buildings with leaking roofs, damaged floors and illegible chalkboards.
- The PTA and SBMC thought that poor classroom conditions affected girls' learning in particular.
- Parents were helping to improve the learning environment by building and renovating classrooms through the PTA levy and by providing labour.
- A lack of fencing round the compound made it difficult to control access to the school premises.
- Lack of permanent access to potable water (the borehole is shut off at 10am) had a detrimental effect on pupil learning.

AIB3.2 Teacher management

- Pupils' access to the curriculum was affected by teacher shortages, teacher absenteeism and low teacher morale though the situation was said to be improving.
- There was some recognition, even by teachers, that teachers need further training and support and that improved teaching and more qualified teachers would help reduce pupil repetition and dropout.
- The main staff disciplinary issues within the school were thought to be absenteeism and non-compliance with the rule of no corporal punishment; more generally across the LGEA, they were identified as absenteeism, drunkenness and misuse of loans.

AIB3.3 Pupil management and pupil relations

- Pupils were generally made to repeat a year after long-term absences, boys generally more than girls.
- There was evidence of bullying and "teasing" of girls by other girls, and, more often, girls by (some) boys and bullying of younger boys by older boys and of returning absentee pupils by other pupils. However, no evidence was gathered of the impact of this on pupil learning or school attendance.
- Corporal punishment, which was widespread, was identified by some pupils as a cause of dropout, and as having an adverse effect on their learning.

- Other punishments for pupils often caused them to miss lessons, e.g. by being asked to sweep the compound, pick litter or weed the farm, and therefore reduced their learning opportunities.

AIB3.4 Teaching and learning

- Overage pupils were identified by other pupils as having learning problems.
- Views were mixed among pupils and teachers as to whether girls or boys generally did better in tests and exams though claims were not backed up with evidence.
- Free textbook provision by government, which was said to be improving but in need of further improvement, was seen as a major incentive for pupil enrolment and having a positive impact on pupil learning though textbooks, which were present in four observed lessons, were only used in one lesson.
- Almost all pupils had a very limited grasp of English. Thus, learning in English was a major obstacle to pupil learning although some teachers compensated by code-switching with Hausa, and also Higgi.
- Classroom observations indicated that teaching made limited cognitive demands on pupils: teachers predominantly lectured with occasional choral or individual questioning of pupils and questions were usually closed. In addition, pupils were sometimes required to copy from the board.
- There was very limited oral participation by pupils but in general more boys seemed to be selected to make oral contributions than girls.

AIB3.5 Socio-economic and family issues

- Poverty was the most widely cited reason by all respondents for non-enrolment, poor attendance and dropout related to families' need for child labour and/or inability to pay school costs.
- Pupil ill health and hunger were also causes of pupil absenteeism.
- Child labour: boys and girls were needed for farming, trading and/or household chores resulting in lateness, absenteeism and dropout.
- Children farming before school and doing household chores were identified as major causes of lateness.
- Girls' participation in school was particularly affected by household chores and looking after siblings.
- Pregnancy or early marriage was a cause of dropout for some girls.
- Petty trading, especially on the two main market days, was a major cause of absenteeism and ultimately dropout, particularly among boys, with hawking mentioned as affecting the learning of some girls.
- More frequent and long-term absenteeism occurred during the rainy season both on account of families' need for additional farming labour, and more widely in the LGEA, because of the physical difficulty for some pupils from mountainous communities to reach school.
- Lack of parental supervision during the rainy season in particular affected pupil attendance, especially among boys.
- Some parents are unable to control (some) boys, who run away from school regardless of parental wishes, according to pupils.
- Parental "ignorance" or lack of interest in education was also seen as a barrier to pupil enrolment by some, but not by others.
- The school's name, which does not reflect the community, is thought to deter some community members from enrolling their children in the school.

- The LGEA thought that their attendance at all PTA meetings was their most effective strategy with communities to increase school enrolments.
- Some boys' learning was hampered by hanging round the bar that spilled onto the school compound late in the evening
- The ₦200 annual PTA levy and expenditure on school uniforms and learning materials was a major barrier to pupil enrolment and/or completion of schooling.
- Pupils and parents thought government subsidies of PTA levies and free provision of uniforms and learning materials would improve enrolment, attendance and dropout.
- Pupils who attended the church nursery school were thought to do better at primary school.
- Most pupils were thought to progress to the adjacent JSS, with the higher PTA levy or poor exam performance the main reasons cited for non-progression.
- Gender-differentiated tasks were allocated to teachers, prefects and pupils which generally conferred greater status on the positions allocated to males, as well as gender-typed views on the relative merits of educating boys and girls. No evidence was gathered on the effect these gender messages might have on girls' and boys' opportunities for, and/or participation in, schooling.

AIB3.6 School–community relations (including LGEA involvement)

- School–community relations were generally cordial but with the issue of access to and ownership of the water pump an important area of dispute, which the ES had tried to settle.
- The ES had also settled a related land dispute between the school and community.
- Women's participation in school–community bodies such as the PTA and SBMC, and within the LGEA, was very limited.
- The PTA was active but the SBMC had yet to be reenergized following a change of leadership.
- The LGEA was heavily involved in trying to mobilise the community to improve school enrolment and attendance, primarily through the PTA and the district head though individual families of known absentee pupils had also been approached.
- It was difficult to tell whether the ordinary community voice was heard in school–community and/or community–LGEA communications.
- There seemed to be a lack of real engagement with the community, either by the LGEA or the school, beyond telling parents that they must send and keep their children in school.
- Both the LGEA and the school seemed to expect parents, through the PTA levy and their own labour, to provide classrooms and school furniture.
- Parents and pupils expected the LGEA to provide free education by subsidizing the PTA levy and by providing textbooks and learning materials.

AIB3.7 Other

- Dark skies during the rainy season and Harmattan could also cause pupils to be late.

APPENDIX IC

DOMINGO PRIMARY SCHOOL CASE STUDY REPORT

AIC1. CONTEXT AND QUANTITATIVE DATA

This is the case study report of Domingo Primary School in the context of the relevant LGEA and the school's local community. It is an urban school located in the Northern Senatorial Zone of the state.

Respondents

A mixture of formal group and individual interviews were held with 16 adults and 32 children, as indicated in Table 1.1. Same-gender group interviews were held with pupils (two female, three male), and group interviews were also held with parents and PTA committee members. Other respondents were interviewed individually. The majority of respondents were Christian and the number of male respondents was almost twice the number of female respondents. Female representation at the community and LGEA level was particularly low.

Table AIC1.1 Domingo Primary School case study respondents

Participant group	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	Total
School – staff (head teacher, teachers)	2	3	3	2	5
School – pupils	13	19	13	19	32
Community (parents, PTA, SBMC, community leader)	2	7	4	5	9
LGEA (including ES,SS)	0	2	2	0	2
TOTAL	17	31	22	26	48

Additionally, informal interactions were held with several prefects (including the head girl and head boy), an overage boy (aged 17), two monitors from lower classes (female and male), female hawkers and a counselling teacher. Seven classroom observations were conducted.

AIC1.1 The LGA (LGEA)

Socio-demographic context

The LGA comprises a large urban area though it is predominantly rural, with a population of around 130,000, according to the most recent census. It lies in the Northern Senatorial Zone, straddling the main tarred road between Yola and Maiduguri, the capitals of Adamawa and Borno States respectively, and within easy access of Cameroon. The flat, urban area is consequently a thriving commercial centre, and enjoys all the usual urban amenities and infrastructure: potable water and electricity, access to health facilities and to other essential goods and services. This is not the case in the more mountainous rural areas. The people within the LGEA are mostly non-migrant farmers, who from time to time send their school-age children to the farms to take care of livestock. Groundnuts are also grown as a cash crop. The LGEA contains both Christian and Muslim communities, though it is predominantly Muslim, with Gude the indigenous ethnic group. Margi and Higgi settlers are also present.

Local Educational Context

See main report, Chapter 4.

AIC1.2. The school community

Domingo Primary School is located in a low-income residential area on the outskirts of a major town, in a religiously and ethnically mixed community. The population of the local community is estimated at around 20,000, according to the head teacher, and there are several markets, places of worship and two medical facilities in the vicinity. Most parents are said to be farmers who require extra seasonal labour primarily between June and December, though a few parents are civil servants. The major ethnic groups in the locality are the Gude, Higgi, Hausa and Hausa-Fulani. Despite differences of opinion as to whether the Gude or Higgi comprised the majority ethnic group, there was consensus among respondents that the Gude are indigenous to the area. The main community languages are Higgi, Gude and Fulfulde, although the language of interaction within the community and in the school is Hausa. Pupils interviewed also mentioned the following languages used at home: Kilba, Tangale, Bura, Yoruba, Fali, Fulfulde and Margi.

AIC1.3 The school

School description

Basic school information

Domingo Primary School lies on the main road in a low-income residential area on the outskirts of a major urban centre. Founded in the 1970s, it was originally a rural school, but the rapid expansion of the nearby town and the resulting urbanisation of surrounding communities have made it urban. Domingo has an intake of just over 1,000 pupils. Most pupils come from within a radius of 2km from the school though some pupils reported taking up to an hour to reach school on foot. Female pupils account for 49.7% of enrolments whereas males account for 50.3%. Currently, 53.2% of the pupil intake is Muslim and 46.8% is Christian. An admission or re-admission fee of ₦200 was charged; in addition, each pupil paid a PTA levy of ₦50 per term. The levies were collected by the school and administered by the PTA executive.

The staff

Both the head and assistant head teacher are male and the head teacher had only recently taken over the headship. There are 36 other teaching staff. The distribution of the teachers (including the head and assistant head) by qualification, gender and religion is shown in Table AIC1.2 below. The majority of the 39 teachers are male (64.1%) and around three quarters are qualified (76.9%). The vast majority (69.2%) have NCE while three are degree holders (7.7%). Three other male non-teaching staff are employed by the school.

Table AIC1.2: Teachers, including head teacher, by qualification and gender

	Qualifications	Female	Male	Total
Qualified	Degree	1	2	3 (7.7%)
	NCE	11	16	27 (69.2%)
Unqualified	TC II	2	4	6 (15.4%)
	Others	0	3	3 (7.7%)
TOTAL		14 (35.9%)	25 (64.1%)	39

Statistics on educational access and pupil outcomes

Pupil enrolment

Over the last three years, enrolments have decreased slightly, from 1139 in 2008–9 to 1076 in 2010–11, peaking at 1156 in 2009–10, as illustrated in Table 1.3. Statistics were unavailable for 2007–8. In the first two years, there was a greater proportion of female enrolments (52.4% for both years) whereas in 2010–11 there was almost gender parity, with fractionally more boys than girls registered in the school (female 49.7%; male 50.3%). In terms of religious affiliation, the predominantly Christian intake (54.2%) of 2008–9 has gradually become a predominantly Muslim intake (53.2%) in 2010–11. The number of both Muslim girls and boys has increased steadily over three years. Conversely, the number of Christian pupils, and girls in particular, has dropped over the same period. It was suggested that they are gradually moving into private schools.

Table AIC1.3 Domingo Primary School enrolments by gender and religion 2007–8 to 2010–11

Year	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	TOTAL
2008–9	597 (52.4%)	542 (47.6%)	522 (45.8%)	617 (54.2%)	1139
2009–10	606 (52.4%)	550 (47.6%)	529 (45.8%)	627 (54.2%)	1156
2010–11	535 (49.7%)	541 (50.3%)	572 (53.2%)	504 (46.8%)	1076

When considering enrolment figures by grade (see Tables AIC1.4 and AIC1.5) for the three-year period in question, figures have generally decreased over the grades in each year; more specifically figures for each year drop in Primary 2 and then increase for two to three grades before tapering off again. However, the reliability of some of the figures is in doubt. For example the numbers for Muslim pupils per grade were exactly the same in four out of the six grades for both 2008–9 and 2009–10. Some of the dramatic changes in absolute numbers or ratios between girls and boys and/or Muslims and Christians in particular grades of particular years also raise concerns about some of the figures, especially when taken together with statistics on dropout. For example, following a cohort of pupils over three years from Primary 1 to 3 a group of 156 female pupils in 2008–9 dropped to 85 in Primary 2 in 2009–10 and then increased the following year to 103 in Primary 3. Similarly, a group of 149 Christian pupils in Primary 1 in 2008–9 dropped to 78 in Primary 2 but picked up to 90 in Primary 3 the following year. Alternatively, if these figures are accurate, they perhaps suggest a trend of pupils perhaps dropping out of school temporarily and rejoining later. Although this is not reflected in the dropout figures given (see Table AIC1.8 below), qualitative data suggest this may be the case, particularly with some boys who reportedly drop out to trade for a while.

Table AIC1.4 Domingo Primary School enrolment by gender and grade 2008–9 to 2010–11

Level	2008–9			2009–10			2010–11		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
P1	156 (58.4%)	111 (41.6%)	267	156 (58.4%)	111 (41.6%)	267	118 (48.2%)	127 (51.8%)	245
P2	80 (50.0%)	80 (50.0%)	160	85 (49.4%)	87 (50.6%)	172	75 (49.7%)	76 (50.3%)	151
P3	74 (42.3%)	101 (57.7%)	175	78 (43.3%)	102 (56.7%)	180	103 (51.8%)	96 (48.2%)	199
P4	100 (52.1%)	92 (47.9%)	192	100 (52.1%)	92 (47.9%)	192	95 (54.0%)	81 (46.0%)	176
P5	98 (57.3%)	73 (42.7%)	171	98 (57.3%)	73 (42.7%)	171	85 (47.5%)	94 (52.5%)	179
P6	89 (51.1%)	85 (48.9%)	174	89 (51.1%)	85 (48.9%)	174	59 (46.8%)	67 (53.2%)	126
TOTAL	597 (52.4%)	542 (47.6%)	1139	606 (52.4%)	550 (47.6%)	1156	535 (49.7%)	541 (50.3%)	1076

Table AIC1.5 Domingo Primary School enrolment by religion and grade 2008–9 to 2010–11

Level	2008–9			2009–10			2010–11		
	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	TOTAL
P1	118 (44.2%)	149 (55.8%)	267	118 (44.2%)	149 (55.8%)	267	130 (53.1%)	115 (46.9%)	245
P2	90 (56.3%)	70 (43.8%)	160	94 (54.7%)	78 (45.3%)	172	81 (53.6%)	70 (46.4%)	151
P3	68 (38.9%)	107 (61.1%)	175	71 (39.4%)	109 (60.6%)	180	109 (54.8%)	90 (45.2%)	199
P4	95 (49.5%)	97 (50.5%)	192	95 (49.5%)	97 (50.5%)	192	90 (51.1%)	86 (48.9%)	176
P5	74 (43.3%)	97 (56.7%)	171	74 (43.3%)	97 (56.7%)	171	86 (48.0%)	93 (52.0%)	179
P6	77 (44.3%)	97 (55.7%)	174	77 (44.3%)	97 (55.7%)	174	76 (60.3%)	50 (39.7%)	126
TOTAL	522 (45.8%)	617 (54.2%)	1139	529 (45.8%)	627 (54.2%)	1156	572 (53.2%)	504 (46.8%)	1076

Overage pupils

The number and percentage of overage pupils rose from 95 (8.3%) in 2008–9 to 113 (9.8%) in 2009–10 before declining to 91 (8.5%) in 2010–11 though the pattern was not uniform across social groups. The percentage of overage pupils relative to the year's total enrolment increased slightly overall during the three-year period for female pupils and Christian pupils whereas it decreased slightly for male and Muslim pupils. The difference among social groups, however, was slight, irrespective of the year, with the percentage of overage pupils only ranging from 6.7% for female pupils in 2008–9 to 10.1% for male pupils in the same year.

Table AIC1.6 Domingo Primary School overage* pupils by gender and religion from 2008–11

	Total numbers (%) of overage pupils by gender and religion				
Year	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	TOTAL
2008–9	40 (6.7%)	55 (10.1%)	51 (9.8%)	44 (7.1%)	95 (8.3%)
2009–10	60 (9.9%)	53 (9.6%)	52 (9.8%)	61 (9.7%)	113 (9.8%)
2010–11	52 (9.7%)	39 (7.2%)	45 (7.9%)	46 (9.1%)	91 (8.5%)

*Pupils three or more years older than the official age for each year

There are few discernible patterns when looking at the data by grade and social group (see Tables AIC1.6 and AIC1.7 below) except to say that the percentage of overage pupils is lowest in Primary 1 across all three year groups. Figures and percentages tend to increase for the next three grades before tailing off again in either Primary 5 or 6. However, given the concerns expressed above about the reliability of some of the enrolment figures, then these figures for overage pupils need to be interpreted with similar caution. Indeed the figures for overage pupils may themselves be unreliable. If we look at Table AIC1.8 and the cohort of Muslim pupils that moved from Primary 4 in 2008–9 up to Primary 6 in 2010–11, for example, we see 12 overage Muslim pupils (12.6%) out of group of 95 Muslim pupils dropped to 3 overage Muslim pupils from a group of 74 (4.1%) in Primary 5 the following year, which then increased back to a group of 12 overage Muslim pupils out of a group of 76 (15.8%) the year after. There are some similarly strange drops and subsequent hikes in numbers when considering the gender patterns in Table AIC1.7. Ten overage pupils in Primary 3 in 2008–9 almost doubled to 19 overage pupils in Primary

4 in 2009–10, albeit in a larger cohort of pupils, and then fell back to 11 the following year. However, as highlighted earlier, some of the qualitative data suggest that some overage male pupils drop out of school to trade or farm and then re-enrol.

Table AIC1.7 Domingo Primary School overage pupils by gender and grade 2008–9 to 2010–11

Level	2008–9			2009–10			2010–11		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
P1	4 (2.6%)	7 (6.3%)	11 (4.1%)	5 (3.2%)	9 (8.1%)	14 (5.2%)	3 (2.5%)	4 (3.1%)	7 (%)
P2	5 (6.3%)	11 (13.8%)	16 (10.0%)	7 (8.2%)	11 (12.6%)	18 (10.5%)	10 (13.3%)	3 (3.9%)	13 (8.6%)
P3	10 (13.5%)	8 (7.9%)	18 (10.3%)	15 (19.2%)	7 (6.9%)	22 (12.2%)	5 (4.9%)	7 (7.3%)	12 (6.0%)
P4	9 (9.0%)	12 (13.0%)	21 (10.9%)	19 (19.0%)	8 (8.7%)	27 (14.1%)	10 (10.5%)	12 (14.8%)	22 (12.5%)
P5	6 (6.1%)	5 (6.8%)	11 (6.4%)	4 (4.1%)	6 (8.2%)	10 (5.8%)	11 (12.9%)	4 (4.3%)	15 (8.4%)
P6	6 (6.7%)	12 (14.1%)	18 (10.3%)	10 (11.2%)	12 (14.1%)	22 (5.6%)	13 (22.0%)	9 (13.4%)	22 (17.5%)
Total	40 (6.7%)	55 (10.1%)	95 (8.3%)	53 (9.6%)	53 (9.6%)	113 (9.8%)	52 (9.7%)	39 (7.2%)	91 (8.5%)

Table AIC1.8 Domingo Primary School overage pupils by religion and grade 2008–9 to 2010–11

Level	2008–9			2009–10			2010–11		
	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	Total
P1	5 (4.2%)	6 (4.0%)	11 (4.1%)	7 (5.9%)	7 (4.7%)	14 (5.2%)	2 (1.5%)	5 (4.3%)	7 (2.%)
P2	8 (8.9%)	8 (11.4%)	16 (10.0%)	8 (8.5%)	10 (12.8%)	18 (10.5%)	6 (7.4%)	7 (10.0%)	13 (8.6%)
P3	9 (13.2%)	9 (8.4%)	18 (10.3%)	10 (14.1%)	12 (11.0%)	22 (12.2%)	7 (6.4%)	5 (5.6%)	12 (6.0%)
P4	12 (12.6%)	9 (9.3%)	21 (10.9%)	15 (15.8%)	12 (12.4%)	27 (14.1%)	9 (10.0%)	13 (15.1%)	22 (12.5%)
P5	7 (9.5%)	4 (4.1%)	11 (6.4%)	3 (4.1%)	7 (7.2%)	10 (5.8%)	9 (10.5%)	6 (6.5%)	15 (8.4%)
P6	10 (13.0%)	8 (8.2%)	18 (10.3%)	9 (11.7%)	13 (13.4%)	22 (5.6%)	12 (15.8%)	10 (20.0%)	22 (17.5%)
TOTAL	51 (9.8%)	44 (7.1%)	95 (8.3%)	52 (9.8%)	61 (9.7%)	113 (9.8%)	45 (7.9%)	46 (9.1%)	91 (8.5%)

Pupil attendance

Table AIC1.9 below illustrates the number of pupil days absent per term by gender and Table AIC1.10 shows the number of pupil days by religion. Female pupils were absent from school for more days than male pupils for the first two years, a pattern that was reversed slightly in the third year, which is unsurprising given the gender ratios in enrolment in each year. However, since the qualitative data suggest that some pupils are absent for a whole term, the figures below are likely to represent a major underestimation since they would indicate that on average, across the years, each pupil is only absent for just over a day per year. Nor do the figures reflect any seasonal variation in contrast to the qualitative data, which universally suggest that absenteeism is much higher during the planting season because pupils' labour is needed in the fields. Since figures refer to pupil days, they do not give any indication of the number of children who have been absent.

Table AIC1.9 Domingo Primary School number of days absent by term and by gender 2008–9 to 2010–11

	Gender	2008–9	2009–10	2010–11	TOTAL
First term	Female	232	284	243	759
	Male	208	316	260	784
Second term	Female	246	270	259	775
	Male	229	228	266	723
Third term	Female	236	260	228	724
	Male	220	232	219	671
Annual totals		1371 (F: 714; M: 657)	1590 (F: 814 ; M: 776)	1475 (F: 730; M: 745)	

Table AIC1.10 Domingo Primary School number of days absent by term and by religion 2008–9 to 2010–11

	Religion	2008–9	2009–10	2010–11	TOTAL
First term	Muslim	232	302	232	766
	Christian	208	298	271	777
Second term	Muslim	258	250	285	793
	Christian	217	248	240	705
Third term	Muslim	232	244	220	696
	Christian	224	248	227	699
Annual totals		1371 (Mu:722 ;Ch:649)	1590 (Mu:796; Ch:794)	1475 (Mu:737; Ch:738)	

Pupil dropout

Overall dropout rates rose slightly from 5.7% of enrolments in 2008–9 to 6.7% of enrolments in 2010–11, peaking at 7.7% in 2009–10. This general pattern was the same for female and male, Muslim and Christian pupils. However, figures would not seem not to include pupils that do not re-register year on year, as was mentioned in the section on enrolments, but they raise concerns about reliability. For example, according to Table AIC1.11 below the recorded number of female dropouts for 2009–10 stands at 40 yet female enrolments for the following year, according to Table AIC1.3, were 535, a drop of 71 on the previous year's enrolment total of 606. This leaves a loss of 31 female pupils unaccounted for. Similarly, the number of Christian pupils enrolled in class in 2009–10 was said to be 606, but declined to 504 the following year. However, only 42 dropouts were recorded, leaving 103 Christian pupils unaccounted for.

Table 1.8 Domingo Primary School number of dropouts and dropout rate by gender and religion 2008–9 to 2010–11

Year	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	Total dropouts	Overall dropout Rate*
2008–9	35 (5.9%)	30 (5.5%)	35 (6.7%)	30 (4.9%)	65	5.7%
2009–10	40 (6.6%)	49 (8.9%)	47 (8.9%)	42 (6.7%)	89	7.7%
2010–11	35 (6.5%)	37 (6.8%)	39 (6.8%)	33 (6.5%)	72	6.7%

*Number of dropouts as a percentage of the number of enrolments for the year.

Pupil performance

According to performance data displayed in Table AIC1.12, for the two years 2008–9 and 2009–10 Primary 6 marks ranged from 0% to 96% across the social groups and even within social groups

the spread of marks was broad with no clear patterns of attainment. However, some of the very high marks seem unlikely given the fact that none of the Primary 6 pupils interviewed could communicate in English to any extent yet it is likely that they were some of the stronger pupils as they were selected for interview by the teacher.

Table AIC1.12 Domingo Primary School pupil performance by gender and religion 2008–9 and 2009–10

Year	Marks	Female		Male		Overall range of marks
		Muslim	Christian	Muslim	Christian	
2008–9	top mark	67	90	25	95	25–95
	bottom mark	3	22	8	23	3–23
2009–10	top mark	88	90	96	89	88–96
	bottom mark	39	35	0	33	0–39

AIC2. QUALITATIVE DATA FINDINGS

AIC2.1. The school

General school issues

School buildings and facilities

Domingo Primary School is located in a large compound, which is shared with a junior secondary school and abuts the main road. There are twelve classrooms with cement floors, which are generally in good condition with functioning doors and windows, though these are sometimes vandalised (see section below on *Security*). There is also a head teacher's office in the school (which JSS teachers sometimes use as a staff room) but no staff room so most teachers plan their lessons or socialise under the trees. Three large trees provide some shade though this is insufficient given the large school population.

LGEA, school and community respondents highlighted the lack of classrooms and benches and the impact on pupil learning, as well the fact that some classrooms were in need of renovation. The head teacher also noted that some of the furniture was vandalised and felt that parents should help with repairs. Although the LGEA noted that across the LGA classrooms and school facilities had generally improved and encouraged an increase in school enrolments, they acknowledged that more needed to be done. The PTA complained in particular about the inadequate seating (which observations confirmed): “Pupils sit on the floor and are always dirty.” This was seen as a major challenge to pupil learning, especially in the lower classes. Leaking roofs were also highlighted. One PTA member thought a solution would be to replace one classroom block with a two-storey building.

There was one block of dilapidated pit latrines (two for boys; two for girls) in very poor condition, which had resulted in people defecating in the surrounding area of the compound, close to the main gate. There were no toilets for teachers. The SBMC respondent listed toilet facilities as one of the committee's major priorities. Aside from this, however, the compound was generally clean and tidy although one pupil group thought that if the compound were made nicer, it would help stem dropout.

The school has no potable water supply and electricity though the adjoining hotel, houses and other surrounding buildings are connected to the national grid. Even though there is provision for borehole and water storage, it is always dry and the only source of water is a dug well which only fills during the rainy season. Because of the lack of water, pupils left the compound when

they were thirsty. One of the hawkers interviewed says that pupils usually headed off in search of water after buying snacks from her even though teachers tried to stop them. One of the pupil groups wanted a water supply on the compound, which they believed would increase enrolment. However, one of the prefects interviewed explained that the head teacher bought water for pupils, which was kept outside the office with cups to drink from.

As well as operating a double shift with the junior secondary school, Domingo shares the compound with a senior secondary school. One teacher thought that using the same facilities as the JSS was a major problem for school: "Our pupils copy some immoral behaviour of the secondary school teachers and students". He felt there was a need to talk to the school's head and teaching staff.

Security

Although there is a wall separating the classroom blocks from the main road and a main gate, the compound was not totally fenced off. A footpath crosses the school premises to the hotel and residential buildings behind the school. Passers-by and members of the community used the path during school hours to access these areas. There was general agreement among school and community respondents that school security needed to improve. Pupil groups wanted the school to be properly fenced (with a wall) to stop cars and bikes from passing through the compound. One group thought this would help address absenteeism and dropout. Another pupil group complained about pupils being knocked down by vehicles while crossing the road on the way to and from school.

We cross the main road to go and look for drinking water; some pupils don't have uniforms they go to cross the main road. If a car hits them or knocks them there will be problem; even our teachers don't want us to cross the road.

They maintained that neither the government nor the school was concerned about the matter.

Parents felt that security was particularly necessary in the afternoon. As one female parent said: "Let there be strict supervision of school and teachers". The SBMC representative said that they had employed a security man for the school but did not have resources to pay him. One parent also thought it was important to separate off the primary and secondary compounds.

The PTA pointed out that the lack of security also resulted in vandalism of school property by unknown persons and, according to some teachers and pupils, drug-using youths and other outsiders defecated on the compound and in the classrooms at night. Lack of security also meant that JSS pupils could roll up before their shift, which was observed, and were free to loiter round the classrooms. In addition, the discipline officer for the JSS could be seen moving round the school with a large horsewhip (*koboko*) and some pupils reported that they panicked whenever they saw him in case he tried to beat them.

At break, predominantly female vendors were allowed onto the school compound although some were sometimes even there during lesson time. When interviewed informally, one vendor said pupils bought from them at break. They also said that some pupils ran out during class to buy food when they were hungry, particularly girls. Some teachers were also said to send pupils to buy snacks for them. One vendor said: "Like today, teachers are not plenty in school if not, they would have bought all my *acara*." The vendor also said prefects collected ₦5 from each vendor/hawker and took them to a male teacher, which prefects confirmed, but said: "We don't know what he does with the money."

Several older boys (JSS pupils who study in other schools on afternoon shift) also hired out bicycles to ride during break time on the football pitch. One explained: "I get 50 to 80 Naira daily

when I give my bicycle to boys on hire. I don't give girls because they don't know how to ride." *Almajiri* (children who have been sent from outside the locality to live and study the Qur'an under a local *mallam*) were also seen begging for alms in and around the compound.

School routines

Lessons are held from 8.45am to noon because JSS lessons begin on the site immediately afterwards. Assemblies are on Mondays and Thursdays, and according to the prefects interviewed: "We arrange ourselves based on gender according to our classes, with small ones at the front to enable them hear and see what is going on in the assembly". Each class has a stone kept in front of the head teacher's office to indicate where they will stand. The duty teacher greets pupils with "Good morning children", three times, to which they answer, "Good morning sir." Pupils then squat down for prayers. During the assembly that was observed the male duty teacher led Muslim prayers after which another female teacher led Christian prayers. Pupils then sang the national anthem and the pledge before being briefed by the head teacher. On Mondays, prefects explained, pupils are inspected:

Everybody will stretch his/her hand for inspection. Girls will remove their headdresses. Pupils who are not well kept will be addressed to be clean next time. The House that came first, second and third in cleanliness [cleaning the compound] will have all pupils to clap for them.

Pupils then march to class, starting from Primary 1 up to Primary 6. The school flag is raised by three male prefects assigned by the head teacher.

Every school day, pupils line up in the school compound in gender-segregated lines, organised by the school "police" (see section on *School management of pupils*, below) to pick up litter. Pupils are asked to go back if prefects feel that it has not been done well enough. Litter-picking starts at 8:00am, after assembly. Some meanwhile were seen cleaning the classrooms: boys moved the furniture while girls swept.

School management of staff

Although there was a general view among the community, LGEA and the head teacher that teachers "are trying" and the education situation is improving, there was simultaneously widespread recognition that teacher absenteeism is still a major problem, and that low teacher morale lies at its root. Indeed, the SBMC respondent identified low teacher morale as the main obstacle to pupil learning. Contradictory comments about teachers were made by various respondents, such as the following: "Teachers teach very well here even though government does not support them." Yet with regard to pupil learning the same respondent said:

I cannot say they [pupils] learn well; I cannot say they don't learn well. There are so many problems happening with teachers; the teachers are not paid well, so there is low morale with the teachers.

The ES and SS confirmed that teacher truancy and absenteeism constitutes a problem across the LGEA and said that offending teachers are called to the office and given a verbal warning. The ES said that although it occurs with both female and male teachers, female teachers are absent more often, on the whole. In Domingo the counselling teacher is involved:

When I notice an offence (like absenteeism, truancy etc.) I call the teacher concerned and talk to them, and they listen. ...In my school here teachers are trying; they take permission before being absent due to some family problems.

Cases were also cited by two sources of teachers absenting themselves on the pretext of collecting salaries from the bank. The LGEA thought it particularly affects teachers who have been too long in one school and that such a "lack of concern" by some teachers results in pupil latecoming. The community leader suggested that teachers should be made to sign an attendance register. Parents also thought there should be stricter supervision of teachers. They felt that some teachers do not take care of pupils – by not entering the class to teach, and not

disciplining them. As one male parent explained: “Often times I come here to check the school and people say we [are] pok[ing our] nose [in things].”

Teacher strikes, teacher shortages, teacher absenteeism and teacher punctuality were expressed concerns of some pupils. Nevertheless most of the pupils interviewed thought teachers were good, especially those that showed some understanding, and spoke English. However, at the same time one group thought that “good teachers” would help address dropout, thereby suggesting that some teachers are less than good. Similarly, parents said “good teaching” would get and keep more kids in school though it is not clear what is meant by “good teaching”.

More positively, the SS said the office was liaising with staff to mobilise teachers into setting a good example to pupils by organising hygiene and sanitation activities and evening games.

Teacher duties in the school included having four teachers in charge of the school houses, and teachers in charge of uniforms, health, quizzes, games and discipline. The head teacher said teachers are appointed to a position of responsibility based on punctuality, neatness and good manners etc. although he said that the discipline teacher was appointed because he was “active” and feared by pupils. Currently, male teachers are in charge of discipline and quizzes, and female teachers are in charge of health, and games. The school counsellor, who has a B Tech in Guidance and Counselling, was appointed based on her academic qualifications. According to the head teacher, her duty is to advise/resolve problems (e.g. debts, insults etc.) whereas she sees her remit as broader, encompassing pupil, teacher and community members’ personal and/or school-related concerns. She felt that teachers appreciated talking to her: “After advising teachers, they feel happy; they don’t harass me, nor frown their faces.”

School management of pupils

Despite assertions to the contrary by the LGEA, corporal punishment is sanctioned under certain conditions (see below) in Domingo Primary School and plays a central role in its disciplinary system. Its practice is widespread among teachers, prefects and monitors, and was frequently witnessed by researchers.

Various pupil groups, and girls in particular, complained that beating was what they most disliked about school, despite several agreeing with the idea that corporal punishment could correct bad behaviour. One group mentioned the case of a pupil they knew who had stopped coming to school after being beaten. A group of female pupils thought that the abolition of corporal punishment would help increase enrolment and also considered a good teacher to be one who “doesn’t beat”. A group of male pupils said: “Beating makes us not to concentrate in the class.” A JSS 2 boy found in the school compound said he comes to school early:

...to check my younger ones (a boy and a girl) who normally come late and hide behind classes [He checks that they arrive at school and enter class]. They don’t enter class because they fear beatings in the school compound.

The SBMC representative said that some parents had transferred their children to another school on account of the beating, and corporal punishment is clearly a source of friction between some parents and teachers (see Section 2.2. on *Community-school relations*). Nevertheless, some parents were said to be in favour of corporal punishment and reportedly brought their children to the school to be beaten, according to one teacher: “Like yesterday, one parent brought his child that he don’t [who didn’t] want to come to school, that we shall discipline the child.”

Latecoming was admitted to by all pupil groups (either on account of household chores and/or Qur’anic school – see Section 2.2 on *Socio-economic activities*) and the school supervisor confirmed that the problem was common across schools though he felt absenteeism was not an

issue. In contrast, the community leader thought that latecoming was more due to children's "idleness" and lamented that some teachers do not beat latecomers. One female pupil explained: "My home is very far from school so they always beat me in school". A lot of pupils were observed arriving late even during exams for the same reasons. They were admitted into the class. However, when some pupils arrived late, they said: "*Malamai ma suna zuwa letti don me zamu zo da wuri?*" [Teachers also come late, so why should pupils come early?].

The head teacher said that latecomers are given two to three lashes of the cane (others claimed three to four) by prefects and duty masters and made to clean the compound. Caning, according to the head is gender-differentiated: female prefects beat girls on the back of the legs while male prefects flog boys on the buttocks. Girls, he informed, are sometimes given a lighter beating on the hand, and made to run round the class. According to a male prefect, consistent latecomers (boys and girls) are usually taken to the head teacher's office for punishment. Pupils disagreed as to whether male or female teachers beat more though more groups thought male teachers do, which was a view endorsed by one female teacher. There was some suggestion that female teachers prefer to use other punishments such as the cockroach balance (maintaining a balance on one knee and one raised arm) or making pupils kneel down.

The school discipline policy is to record corporal punishment in the punishment book, according to one teacher. The head teacher admits it is not always followed; teachers often only report to him afterwards, and he records the corporal punishment. School observations and interviews with pupils indicated clearly that not all corporal punishment is recorded. When asked about discipline, teachers gave a range of answers. Three teachers did not mention using the cane and one teacher maintained that there was no policy regarding corporal punishment in the school. Another teacher said "special cases" are sent to the discipline teacher, and "persistent offenders" are asked by letter to bring their parents to school. One teacher thought that "as a teacher, you need authority to discipline pupils anytime without going the head teacher".

Pupils reported that latecoming also results in being made to sweep the compound, pick up litter, arrange stones, do frog jumping and machine riding (kneeling with arms outstretched as though riding a motorbike), often under the supervision of prefects. One teacher said that girls are sometimes sent to clean the toilets. Only one group of female pupils mentioned receiving verbal rebukes although the counselling teacher said that persistent latecomers and absentees, as well as pupils caught stealing, are sent to her for counselling. "They normally tell me that their relatives die; they take care of younger ones; they go to farm. ...These affect more of boys from both Christians and Muslims," she said.

Both female and male pupil groups mentioned cases of truancy for a whole term. All said parents were made to explain absences to the school. Even so, female pupils complained that as a result they could be reprimanded, beaten, insulted, or chased away. One said: "We are not happy, [we] get angry; at times some of us cry; some are shy to stay in school; some cannot listen or participate in class." Indeed, for one group of female pupils, being sent away from school was what they most disliked about school. The ES said that teachers take and mark attendance of pupils twice a day on a register, which the head teacher countersigns every week. Teachers' views were mixed on attendance: they agreed that for some pupils it is good, and for others it is poor but disagree on which social groups were more affected. One teacher considered the solution to be to make perpetual offenders stand in class, or to make them sweep and arrange stones, or to send them to the head teacher for advice.

With regards to bullying, the counselling teacher said she tried to get pupils to report cases of bullying to her or another teacher "so I call those concerned and advise them and caution the

one at fault” (see *Pupil–pupil relations* below). Other teachers had other strategies: one female teacher reportedly investigates the matter and refers it to the discipline teacher; a male teacher reported calling pupils to order, warning them verbally before sending them back to class; another said he calls them out during assembly and asks them to arrange stones and cane them. Observations at break showed younger pupils, and girls in particular, reporting being bullied to the head teacher and other teachers. However, it was clear from pupil reports that some teachers beat those accused of bullying. “Teacher Bash”, whom pupils feared at the same time, was a teacher one group of pupils would turn to if bullied: “Teacher Bash, Teacher Bash, *ah a kwai dariyan mugunta*” [He has wicked laughs].

The school had a large-scale, differentiated prefect and monitor system in operation. There were said to be 39 prefects including the head boy, head girl, assistants, compound prefects, police prefects, doctors (who look after pupil health issues) and “office girls” (who clean the head teacher’s office). According to the head teacher and pupils, pupils that perform well in class are selected. A committee of senior class teachers interviews pupils, sets an exam for them, and then picks “good ones” as prefects. A couple of pupil groups thought that age and good behaviour also play a role. Two groups (both male and female pupils) thought that more female pupils are selected, though observations suggested it was about 50:50. The school had both a head girl and a head boy (each with an assistant), police who take care of the school compound etc. Police and compound prefects ensure latecomers are apprehended, according to one prefect. A female compound prefect said: “I bring out brooms from the office and distribute them to pupils and make sure they sweep.” A male police prefect continued: “We make sure pupils pick and sweep the school compound. Anyone who do[es] not, we beat him/her and they don’t retaliate even on our way home.” This is contrary to the views of the counselling teacher who said that although prefects carry canes they are not allowed to beat pupils. The head boy said he supervises: “I tell prefects to make sure pupils pick [litter] and sweep the school compound”. The assistant head girl, however, had no idea of her duties: “I don’t know my duties, I was given the post”. One overage boy interviewed said he was made a prefect whose duty was to track down absentees: “We are the ones to go and look for pupils who don’t want to come to school but I did not accept it”.

Pupils said teachers, prefects and monitors intervened in pupils’, mainly boys’, fighting, bullying etc. by beating the culprits. One pupil objected to prefects/monitors beating younger pupils. One group of girls complained of female pupils being beaten with fan belts, canes, or cables on the hand or on the back. Monitors, according to prefects, are appointed based on their reading skills in English and they both supervise classroom cleaning and monitor and discipline the class when teachers are absent. In this school the boy was always the monitor; the girl was the assistant monitor. One prefect explained: “If pupils make noise when teachers are not around, then monitors beat them at the hand, legs or at [on the] the backs using stick.” This the monitors confirmed. However, monitors who write down the names of noisemakers and send the list to the teachers for punishment said they are not attacked afterwards. In a lower primary class which was without a teacher both the female and male monitors were observed beating pupils hard and indiscriminately with sticks. One boy who was beaten by the monitor cried profusely and saw the monitor as a monster. The monitor explained: “The boy I beat and he cried was making noise, so I beat him and he will not report me; neither will [he] refuse to learn.” Another monitor interviewed said: “If madam is not around, we make pupils to keep quiet by saying, ‘Keep quiet.’ *Wanda ya ki yin shuru, sai ya sha bulala*” [and if they refuse to keep quiet, then they will get a beating].

Most pupils were wearing school uniform, including sandals, though there was some confusion among pupils about the new state policy to provide uniforms for pupils, which they thought they would have to buy.

Pupil–pupil relations

Groups of pupils were seen socialising and playing games in the compound at break, generally in gender-segregated and age-related groups. Girls were seen playing catch-and-throw games and singing whereas some boys played football and rode round on bikes (see earlier section on *Security*). A number of pupils also moved to the far end of the football pitch to buy sugar cane, *moimoi*, cakes and oranges. Girls shared their food with girls while boys shared with other boys. A number of Primary 1 pupils were also seen playing and idling around during the exam period as they were without teachers.

However, teachers and pupils agreed that there was a fair amount of fighting and bullying in the school, though they disagreed about who was generally involved. One teacher thought that (some) boys bully both boys and girls whereas another teacher thought both boys and girls are involved, with younger ones generally the victims. Both female and male pupils interviewed complained about fighting, bullying, and pupil disobedience as one of things they most disliked about the school. On the way to class from assembly, lines of girls in particular were seen pushing and shoving each other.

Large, overage boys were often singled out as a problem group, by some pupils and the head teacher, both for bullying and being bullied. The head teacher said he tells overage pupils not to bully but other pupils – both girls and boys – insult them that they are “big for nothing”, which makes them feel “shy” and sometimes stop coming to school. One 17-year old boy, however, thought otherwise:

I do understand what is going on; I participate in answering questions in the class but in Hausa. Pupils don't laugh at me, and teachers see us as the same. “*Bana shiga harkan yara ai*” (I don't interfere with little children's affairs). I sit in class, but I don't disturb pupils. I don't bully. If pupils tease me I tell the teacher.

Male and female pupils complained that pupils who missed a term were laughed at or teased by other pupils upon their return and female pupils complained of being disliked by their friends.

Bullying by prefects and monitors was both observed and reported (see *School management of pupils*, above) although one prefect denied its occurrence: “We [prefects] don't bully here”.

There was also some indication that some older girls would brag about being superior to younger girls. In addition, as one group of female pupils explained, some girls drop out because they become interested in men: “Girls do not complete school because they get conscious of their age; they call themselves BIG GIRLS [original emphasis], and are interested in men.”

In the classroom

Classroom conditions and resources

Seven classes were observed. There were sufficient classrooms for all lessons to be held indoors though most rooms were very overcrowded. There were benches and desks but some had up to five pupils per bench. Walls were bare and floors were potholed in places. All classrooms had chalkboards but in varying states of repair though generally visible from the back of the classroom. However, one group of pupils wanted their class to be renovated, painted and the chalkboard to be replaced.

The vast majority of pupils had writing materials, a few had bags, but very few had textbooks and in one class there were no textbooks visible. Several groups of pupils thought more textbooks would help them learn better. The PTA also mentioned shortage of textbooks. The ES felt that in general more textbooks would help increase pupil enrolment. The counselling teacher pointed out, however, that some teachers improvise teaching aids. The SS thought that the use of teaching aids, alongside use of textbooks, also helped encourage children into school. No teaching aids were seen in use.

Seating arrangements

In the seven observed classes, class sizes in six lessons ranged from 65–76 (36–43 girls; 22–34 boys) including a substantial number of overage pupils, both girls and boys. One teacher said that the full class would total above 80. In the seventh lesson, observed on a very different occasion, numbers were much lower at 42 (23 girls; 19 boys), with many absentees. Two teachers thought they had a repeater each. While acknowledging government policy on no repeaters, one said: “but I don’t believe in the government policy of no repeat; it’s a corruption of the system”. The SBMC member interviewed said that the teacher–pupil ratio needed to be reduced. The head teacher said the school had approximately 20–30 pupils repeating – both boys and girls, Christians and Muslims – generally based on parents’ request on account of poor test performance or poor attendance.

Seats and benches were arranged in three or four columns and five to eight rows. There were more girls than boys present in each class with girls totalling double the number of boys in one observation. In that particular lesson, there was a mixed seating arrangement among boys and girls, though the moment the teacher left the room, pupils reverted to gender-segregated groups. In the other observed lessons, pupils grouped themselves in gender-specific blocks with overage girls noticeably grouped together in one class and boys and/or overage pupils often at the very back. It was also noticeable in a few instances that pupils preferred to be squeezed onto a crowded bench rather than sit on a less crowded bench with someone from the “opposite sex”.

Teachers said that although some teachers mixed girls and boys, generally pupils preferred to be in gender-specific groups. This was generally attributed to “culture”, and Muslim culture in particular, especially with regard to girls not interacting with boys. One group of male pupils complained of “teasing from girls when they sit together.” One teacher said that some parents told pupils that girls and boys should not sit together. However, two teachers maintained that whatever parents’ views about segregation at home, all pupils came to school for a common purpose: “But in school all of them come here to make great thing out of school.”

Pedagogy (including teacher–pupil relations)

The seven lessons observed comprised traditional didactic whole-class teaching with the teacher generally at the front by the board though a couple moved about, checking that pupils were writing. Two teachers monologued throughout. The other teachers predominantly taught through question-and-answer routines which demanded a variety of choral repetition and individual questioning or, in the case of the two Maths lessons, by introducing the topic, giving some example calculations and then getting pupils to copy and answer sums from the board. In an English lesson, the teacher read a story from the textbook, breaking off to translate and ask pupils’ questions. There seemed to be some level of understanding among some pupils in most of the classes but in one class, where the teacher was not in control, none of the pupils appeared to understand the lesson.

The ES maintained that if teachers could vary teaching techniques and methods, it would improve pupil attendance and performance.

In the seven observed lessons, one teacher used English throughout, two taught predominantly in English – both these were English lessons – three taught in a mixture of English and Hausa and one teacher taught almost exclusively in Hausa. In this last lesson, pupils too tended to respond in Hausa, particularly the girls. All four teachers said they felt comfortable teaching in English but three said they also used Hausa to clarify issues, or for emphasis. As one put it: “Pupils never forget things taught in Hausa”. Teachers’ views were mixed on what they thought pupils felt about learning in English. Two of the four teachers explained that pupils couldn’t speak or understand English well: “Some of the pupils don’t understand English; that is why we are using Hausa”. Another added: “some pupils, when you are speaking English, they will just be looking at you like that [with a blank expression].” Some pupils, according to one teacher, were unable to speak Hausa either. Nevertheless, the teacher also acknowledged that even though some pupils found it difficult “they want to speak”. In contrast, one teacher was adamant that pupils were happy learning in English: “They greet me in English whenever we meet in town”. Two of the teachers thought perhaps that girls were happier learning in English, but only a few boys liked it. One male Muslim teacher thought it affected “slow learners” – both girls and boys from Muslim families who were late to school because of attending Qur’anic school in the morning. Pupils themselves held mixed views on the preferred medium of instruction. Most preferred a mix of English and Hausa, though two groups of female pupils said they preferred to be taught all in English. At the same time, however, one of the two groups also admitted that understanding English pronunciation constituted a major learning difficulty. One of the female groups that preferred all teaching to take place in English also considered teaching in English as a feature of a good teacher. Similarly, one of the boys’ groups thought they would learn better if the teacher spoke more English in their class.

Observations showed that generally oral participation in class was fairly balanced between girls and boys although in two classes, girls seemed to participate more. However, in both these classes the number of female pupils was substantially higher than that of boys. In one of these classes the teacher seemed to pay more attention to female pupils. Moreover, given the large class sizes, overall, very few individual pupils got to answer questions. In one class pupils also asked a lot of questions in Hausa.

Teacher and pupil views on patterns of oral participation also varied. One teacher was adamant that it depended on the class whereas two teachers believed that girls were often “shy”, which one male Muslim teacher thought applied particularly to Muslim girls because he maintained that according to Islamic beliefs, girls should not look people directly in the eyes. On the other hand another Muslim male teacher felt Muslim girls and boys were “more shy; some can write but can’t speak.” Pupil groups agreed along gender lines: female pupils thought that girls participated more, due to being more attentive and careful; boys thought that boys participated more because they concentrated harder whereas girls had a “nonchalant” attitude and were more affected by peer pressure. There was some cross-gender agreement that overage pupils felt particularly fearful of making mistakes and being laughed at (see below). As one female pupil put it: “Big boys are afraid to give wrong answers that will make other pupils laugh at them”. One of the boys concurred: “Overage don’t participate for fear of giving wrong answers. Overage girls fear younger girls will beat them in performance.” They feel “shame”, another pupil added.

Teachers held mixed views on whether there was any difference in the way female or male teachers taught; three were of the opinion that there were professional and unprofessional, lazy or not lazy teachers, irrespective of gender. That said, one male teacher thought that male

teachers were more supportive though pupils did not back this up. Most pupils thought teachers generally treated all pupils the same, a view held by the head teacher, except one group that thought some teachers favoured “intelligent pupils”. Some pupil groups, both female and male, accused some female teachers of being in a hurry to leave class, or of sitting around in class and not teaching.

Male teachers will make sure we finish our class work before we go out for break while female teachers will leave the class even before the end of the lesson. (male pupil)

Female teachers sit under the tree most times. (male pupil)

Male teachers take their time to explain. (female pupil)

Several groups identified good teacher–pupil relations as essential for a good teacher. In addition to having sound knowledge of the subject, they wanted teachers who were punctual, caring and kind. A couple of pupil groups highlighted teacher attention as helping learning, especially “a teacher who gives attention to individual differences of pupils”. Observations showed teachers to be encouraging and supportive on the whole, with a couple even calling pupils by name, although one who was so described still carried a cane throughout the class. One teacher, who struggled to control the class, seemed indifferent.

Pupil performance

There were similarly divergent views among teachers on pupil performance though all were agreed that pupils “are all trying”; opinion was divided on whether boys or girls generally “performed better”. One teacher said it depended on the class; another thought boys performed better because they interacted in class more than girls; a third teacher thought that girls performed better on account of parental assistance, which they could access because they spent more time at home.

Pupil opinions were similarly varied, though both groups of male pupils were adamant that “girls cheat” and copied answers off them. Conversely, female pupils complained of boys’ copying: “If we sit with boys, they copy our answers and the teacher flogs us [both the boy and girl involved]”. One group of boys was more undecided: “Boys perform better in tests in Primary 5. Girls play a lot, don’t come to school, go for petty trading”. While from Primary 6, the group said girls did better: “Boys do not come to school regularly, and play a lot.” A lower school monitor said: “In our class, boys perform better; the girls make a lot of noise so they don’t perform. The head teacher concluded that it varied but that more girls had won prizes in his two years at the school. Prizes (notebooks, rulers, pens), he said, were given out for the top three performing pupils in the class though one group of male pupils thought there should be graduation ceremonies for successful graduates.

PTA members and parents also offered opinions on pupil performance: “*A na samu dai kalila a chikin mata*” [We get good pupils; a few among them are girls] (PTA member). Parents thought perhaps boys do better “because they have less work to do at home, while girls don’t do better because they are burdened with a lot of home chores; they tend to sleep at home”.

Discipline

Several pupils were disciplined during four of the lesson observations. In the other three, no overt physical disciplining was observed. One teacher carried a cane throughout the lesson but did not use it. However, he disciplined one boy during the lesson for making noise by forcing him to kneel on the floor, and verbally reprimanded another for bullying. In another class, a male monitor went round the class enforcing discipline by beating pupils, though only flogged girls,

without interference from the teacher. In a fourth class, a male monitor flogged another boy for sleeping in class but was stopped by the teacher, who then cautioned the sleeping boy.

In terms of maintaining discipline, in a couple of classes pupils went in and out at will without interference by the teacher. There was also a lot of noise and playing around in some classes, involving different groups of boys or girls, which again were ignored or not noticed by the teacher. In one lesson, the teacher was not in control and attempted to assume control by shouting at them in Hausa: “*Kuna hauka!*” [You are mad!], and by appointing a large overage boy to control his peers. Even so there was a lot of noise by boys and girls a lot of bullying was observed among (some) male pupils, which went on unchecked. Pupils also complained about misbehaviour by other pupils (see section on *Pupil–pupil relations* below)

When asked about disciplining pupils in class, teachers’ expressed preferences ranged from advising pupils to behave using religious stories and sayings, to the widespread practice of making pupils (both boys and girls) stand up or kneel down. For serious offences (e.g. smoking/stealing), a couple of teachers mentioned sending pupils to the discipline teacher. (See section on *School management of pupils* above).

Pupil–pupil relations

In the observed classes pupil–pupil relations varied, depending to an extent on the degree and type of discipline maintained by the teacher and the seating arrangements. Thus, in the lesson where the teacher had no control of the class and pupils came in and out of the room at will, a lot of bullying was witnessed by older, bigger boys on other boys and girls, such as punching others, stealing their stationery or calling them names. In the only class where girls and boys were seated together and the teacher had a firm but friendly grip on the class there was no pupil–pupil interaction witnessed during the lesson. In the classes with gender-segregated seating, boys and girls predominantly interacted in gender-specific groups, which teachers said was usual although one said pupils sometimes stuck to family groups; there were several cases of groups of girls making a lot of noise and playing around, and of boys teasing other boys or also playing around. One teacher said boys sometimes pinched each other in lessons. In the one class where there was cross-gender interaction, it centred round exchanging and sharing food. Some of the female hawkers interviewed informally confirmed that they also sold to pupils in class. However, one teacher also said there was sometimes other cross-gender interaction in class: “Boys sometimes walk to girls to ask them answers to some questions.”

Teachers generally complained that girls made a lot of noise because of their large numbers but they also complained that boys played around, and that bigger boys sometimes bullied smaller boys and fought girls. As one teacher explained: “Boys are more stubborn. They always want to show off that they are boys.” Some of the pupils interviewed also complained about pupil disobedience, pupils eating in class and making noise – though it was not clear if the teacher was present on such occasions. As one put it: “I don’t care [for the] attitude of pupils, fighting, playing.” On one research visit, some of the lower classes were without teachers while the upper classes were sitting exams. In two classes a lot of boys were seen by the windows making noise and a number were beating girls, with one boy beating particularly hard and out of control. Nobody intervened.

Teasing pupils who get the answer wrong was another issue. One teacher explained: “When I ask a question and one fails to answer, they all laugh at the person.” I don’t allow beating [of pupils who laughed] by the class monitor; I try to talk to pupils.” Overage pupils seemed particularly affected, according to both pupils and some teachers. One teacher linked it to dropout although teachers generally did not think dropout was an issue: “They [overage pupils] are being teased;

they run away from some classes due to their age.” Pupils admitted overage pupils were sometimes called “fool” if they could not answer a question and one group suggested that overage pupils probably felt more ashamed because they were older and were expected to know more. Unsurprisingly, observations showed that overage pupils seemed to group together and sit apart in some lessons. Pupils that did not attend school regularly also tended to sit apart, according to one teacher.

2.2 Family and community

Socio-economic activities

There was agreement among LGEA, community and school respondents, including pupils, that absenteeism, dropout and/or non-enrolment in school was often due to children being involved in farming, petty business or learning a trade. Most respondents thought boys were most affected but pupils were less sure, especially when it came to identifying which social groups had never been to school. According to the head teacher, petty trading was the most common reason to drop out of school among boys. Overage boys, in particular, had resulted from dropping out for trading and returning to school. One teacher said they had lots of 15 to 16-years-olds (mainly boys) in their class for this reason. The school supervisor thought this was due to the proximity of the market and the motor park, which provided opportunities to earn some money from menial jobs. One overage boy said that both Muslim and Christian boys were often absent from school to go to mechanic shops. Teachers also mentioned boys leaving school to begin apprenticeships as welders or electricians. There was recognition by pupil groups that parents needed kids to earn money. As one female pupil explained: “Maybe their parents want them to go do petty trading to get money for the family.” The community leader concurred that boys in particular missed or dropped out of school in order to earn money: “Pupils always go to fend for themselves after looking for petty jobs at mechanic workshops. It affects their learning at school.” He concluded that their performance was affected because they didn’t stay at home to read. One male pupil group lamented the lack of job opportunities after school and thought that creating job opportunities would help dropout: “so that parents will allow pupils to stay in school”.

Farming too was highlighted by teachers and pupils as a cause of absenteeism, dropout and overage. One staff member thought that absenteeism and temporary dropout is highest among Higgi pupils because parents take boys and girls away to farm (or trade) during the planting season (May to June) and then return. He explained: “Some parents like the Higgis take their children for farming during rainy season and later bring them back for enrolment during [the] dry season.” Even without migrating, children’s labour is needed before school. One boy said he had to help his father “mash mud” for the construction of huts before coming to school. The counselling teacher reported that in her conversations with parents, many talked about the need for their children (girls and boys, Christians and Muslims) to help during the harvest.

Home chores, sometimes in combination with petty trading, were also identified by various respondents as a major obstacle to children’s schooling, resulting in absenteeism and latecoming. Most respondents thought this affected girls in particular though all pupils reported having some chores. The head teacher thought Muslim girls, most of all, were late for school. One teacher and two groups of female pupils mentioned the fact that some parents kept their girls at home to take care of the home and look after siblings. All pupil groups – male and female – said they came late because of household chores. Female pupils reported girls cooking; both girls and boys reported fetching water. Parents and PTA members interviewed concurred that girls did more of the domestic tasks such as sweeping, washing plates and cooking while boys did heavier manual work, such as farming, and taking care of animals. Both groups agreed that girls’ attendance

(including punctuality) was affected more. One group of girls interviewed thought the school should “talk with parents to give children less work especially in the morning.”

Families (including religion, ethnicity and issues of educational choice)

Many pupils live within the vicinity of the school, but some reported having to walk up to an hour to reach school. Some pupils attributed their latecoming to the distance they live from school. The ES said that most schools in the LGA were within reach except a few places where there were rivers and no bridges, in which case, if it rained, pupils might not be able to get to school.

Although PTA members pointed out that some pupils arrived late because of staying at home to eat after chores or Qur’anic school in the morning, pupils not eating before coming to school was identified as a bigger problem by pupils, teachers and community members. One female pupil group complained of being late for school because there was no food to eat in the house. Another young girl who arrived late one day explained: “they sent me at home to buy something across the road, and I waited to eat food before coming.” A couple of teachers considered malnutrition at home due to poverty to be a major barrier to pupil learning. The head teacher added that pupils needed to be given food before school: “Hunger stops pupils from learning in school.” One teacher explained: “We invite and talk to parents to try and give pupils food to eat, no matter the hardship.” One female parent echoed these sentiments: “If a child eats well at home, he learns better in school.” Another teacher added:

Some get food to eat before coming to school; some don’t get [food]; they come to school and start complaining of fever, headache etc. When you examine them, you discover it’s hunger and not sickness.

Whatever the cause, **all** pupil groups said they missed the occasional day through sickness; several pupils mentioned bereavement or caring for sick family members. The ES also considered sickness to be a major cause of dropout, though maintained dropout figures were low for both boys and girls.

The SS, teachers and all pupil groups agreed that Muslim pupils attending Qur’anic school was another major cause of pupil latecoming. The head teacher explained that Qur’anic schools end at 7:15am, but some pupils live 2–3km from school. In addition, as the community leader pointed out, pupils then wait to eat at home in between schools. Although the SS thought that boys were more affected by attending Qur’anic schools than girls, teachers felt that the pupils who sometimes arrived very late, after the second or third lesson, were mainly girls. As a way of addressing the issue, teachers felt that parents should be told to bring pupils on time.

Some overage pupils were also due to Qur’anic schooling with some parents preferring children to complete some years of Islamic education before starting public school. Thus, as one teacher explained: Muslim parents “sometimes take their children to distant towns for Qur’anic schooling and after graduating, they bring them back to be enrolled into primary schools; by then they are overaged.” Another teacher added: “You see a child in Primary 1 who has already reached ten years.” A 17-year-old boy in Primary 5 told his story:

I attended army primary school and at Primary 3, my parents withdrew me and took me [away] for Qur’anic schooling. Thereafter we came back my father brought me here. The head teacher asked me some questions, and later put me in Primary 5.

Two teachers said they had overage pupils in their class. One said that overage Muslim girls were often there for cultural/religious reasons and also because their parents preferred girls to marry than to come to school.

Some teachers also thought that some Muslim children in the area had never been to a public school because some preferred a wholly Qur'anic education; as the SBMC member put it: "Their parents don't believe in western education... They are just conservatives." PTA members: also thought some parents have an "I-don't-care attitude towards western education". In the words of one LGEA official: "They view western education as a left-hand education; they prefer the Qur'anic school." Although the community leader believed some parents were like that some preferred Islamic schools where the "western" and Qur'anic curriculum would both be taught.

The issue of *almajiri*, predominantly Hausa and Hausa-Fulani, especially from other states, and who were observed hanging round the school entrance, was also brought up by teachers, SBMC and LGEA officials. The ES explained:

Within my area there are about 1,000 *almajiris* who don't attend primary schools; their *mallams* don't want to send them to school. Their parents send them from far towns to read Qur'an only; the *mallam* don't have money to send them to public school and it's not within his powers to do that.

One teacher thought the solution was to talk to the *mallams*.

Almajiri's story

I like the school and the pupils; they do attract me; that is why I come here virtually every day to watch them. My father don't want school. When he travelled, my mother enrolled me in school but when he came back he removed me. My father lives in Kano. He sent me to X town to do Qur'anic school. Even if you go to him, he will not allow me to enter school. He had instructed the *mallam* not to enrol me into any western school. I want to be governor sometimes, but I do only Qur'anic school. This orange was given to me by people around. *Mallam* takes care of us, but we go out to beg for food and money. Sometimes I get 50 Naira; sometimes I don't get anything. If *mallam* sees my money he will collect it from me, so I give one woman to hide it for me. If you give me free education, I will go to school even in your house in Yola. I will follow you.

There was also a view in the LGEA that "some parents are smugglers. They send their children to assist them in the business and once they start getting money, they stop coming to school."

Pupil lateness or truancy was also blamed by various parties on the pupils themselves, or on poor parenting. One teacher commented that parents blamed (some) pupils for "idling and playing along the way to school". One JSS pupil who came to check that his younger siblings had come to class attributed their latecoming to "play[ing] a lot on their way to school." The community leader commented that "sometimes the parents want pupils to go to school and they [pupils] do not want to go to school." Pupils and parents confirmed this: "Sometimes the children themselves don't want to come to school." What is not known, or was not articulated, are the precise reasons why some pupils do not want to go to school, which may be related to in-school practices. It may be the same reason that, according to pupils, some parents stop their children from going to school, or do not enrol them in the first place, namely because no teaching is done in school. One female interview group asked for parents to "stop children from drinking alcohol and drugs" and to "talk with parents about children flirting and making people believe that is school that spoil children [encourages bad behaviour]."

Some parents were also blamed for not monitoring pupils' attendance in school and/or school or homework. One teacher thought that some boys – both Christian and Muslim – missed school because of a lack of parental supervision. One LGEA official, who was Muslim, thought this applied to some Muslim parents in particular, resulting in boys in particular being absent and/or dropping out. Parents interviewed believed it was the duty of parents to be close to (and monitor) their children in school. The community leader pointed out that parents did sometimes come to school to check attendance but "some pupils leave home with the guise of coming to

school, but they do not.” Commenting on such truancy, one PTA member pointed out that it was no surprise that pupils were not in school when some of them had even left home: “Some children even left home completely, how much less of [let alone] school?” This was more likely to apply to boys since, as one PTA member noted, boys generally had more freedom to move around at home than girls. Another PTA member noted that neighbours normally called on pupils to run to school when they saw that they were running late. Yet as one male parent recounted, times are changing:

In time past, any parent can discipline pupils when they are not behaving very well, but now it is difficult. I was once insulted by one mother because I disciplined her son, whom I found idling away during classes.

The parents interviewed believed that parents should provide school materials for pupils (exercise books, textbooks, pens, uniform, sandals etc) although a couple of respondents pointed to parental poverty and the inability of some to pay fees, and for uniforms as one reason for the non-attendance at school of some boys. Teachers too generally thought that there were some parents who could not afford to buy writing materials. The head teacher, on the other hand, thought parents generally did buy exercise books, pens, and give pupils money for breakfast. One teacher felt pupil obedience would help persuade their parents to purchase writing materials:

Yesterday I gave pupils work in maths. Some of them were just like this making noise. I fished them out and asked them of their writing materials they said they don't have. Then I advised them to be obedient to their parents so that they will buy books for them, because some of the pupils are stubborn.

The teacher also thought parents should be checking pupils' homework. Most pupils interviewed, both boys and girls, said they received help with their homework from family members though three Muslim boys in one group denied getting any assistance. The PTA confirmed that both Christian and Muslim pupils got help from older siblings and that Christian pupils also got help from parents at home. The parents interviewed confirmed this and two Christian parents (one male, one female) interviewed said they personally helped their children. One teacher also thought parents should give children a foundation in English and Hausa.

Views were mixed in terms of gender-differentiated attitudes to schooling. One teacher thought it was different for (some) boys and girls: “Boys attached more importance to school than girls because some of the boys see and want to imitate some professionals as role models. But some girls have seen their mothers in the kitchen; they are discouraged”. Some girls in the community, both Christian and Muslim are also married early, according to the community leader. One male parent thought that:

... some pupils want to make progress and benefit from school, while others (more of females) come to school for coming sake ... Children should not only go to school to acquire knowledge but be encouraged to acquire skills that will make them independent be they Muslims or Christians, e.g. mechanics, improve agriculture etc.

The PTA thought some parents (both religions) preferred boys “because of their culture” and their chances of getting jobs, but others did not:

Wasssu iyaye, sun fi so, su karfafa yayansu maza su yi karatu domin su mazane, zasu zauna a gida. Wadansu kuma ba banbanchi don a yanzu ma yan mata sun fi taimakon iyaye.” (Some parents prefer to encourage their male children to read because they are males; they will keep a home. Some parents do not show this difference now because female children help parents better than male children)

Pupils mostly thought school was “important for all” although one group of girls thought that boys took it more seriously because they had better job prospects than girls. “Men can be more focused and strong hearted”, one girl said. A group of boys maintained that “Boys [can] think better than girls” although another group (both Muslim and Christian boys) thought that religion was a more important determinant and that more Christian boys and girls preferred school than Muslims.

LGEA officials also thought communities in the area were generally positive about girls’ education and cited the case of a former female commissioner from the area who had served as a role-model to parents for their female children to emulate. However, the ES was of the view that some Hausa-Fulani settlers did not value formal education, and the SS, who was Muslim, thought that in Domingo school, the Christian community showed more commitment to their children’s education while the parental attitude of some Muslim parents was still affecting the participation of Muslim girls in school.

Other schools in the area included an Islamiyya school, offering Islamic and “western” education, according to the head teacher, as well as many private schools. One parent was of the opinion that “private schools had destroyed [Domingo Primary School] because rich people took their children to private school.” A couple of the pupil groups said they went to Domingo because their parents did not have the money to send them to private school. None of the pupils interviewed had family members in another school.

Community-school relations

The head teacher described relations with the community as “cordial” while the PTA members similarly said they thought the head teacher and teachers were “co-operating ... and are trying”. The main communication link between school and community was the PTA, which, according to the SS, was also the main means of communication between the LGEA and the school (see Section 2.3. on LGEA–community relations).

In Domingo Primary School the money for a lot of the school renovation and furniture repairs derived from the PTA levy, ₦50 per term, as well as from infrequent ad hoc collections for particular projects (in addition to the ₦200 enrolment fee). The head teacher praised the PTA’s assistance: “During PTA’s last meeting, they agreed and collected ₦200 from each member for renovation of classrooms”. This was confirmed by the community leader, who was formerly involved in the PTA. He thought school, community and PTA communication links were good. PTA members saw communication with the community primarily in terms of responding to school/committee needs: “Whenever there is an outstanding project, we do have general community meetings and parents do willing[ly] make contributions and donations towards it”. Parents confirmed that community concerns about the school had similarly been about fixing infrastructure, such as repairing roofs or benches. They also thought the PTA chair and committee functioned well and that the school responded to their requests, such as sorting out a drainage issue when the school was flooded though it was not clear exactly what the response was. PTA members said they had regular meetings with teachers and also collaborated with LGEA officials to solve problems (see also Section 2.3. on LGEA–community relations)

More broadly across the LGA, the ES confirmed that community support occurs principally through construction and repairs though some communities are also employing temporary teachers:

Parents assist in renovating classrooms; in 2002, 38 communities launched an appeal fund to help the school. At Community X, a community constructed classrooms valued up to 4 million Naira through the self-help project.

Teachers, however, had mixed views on community support. One teacher thought PTA support was variable: "At times they provide whatever we tell them the school needs, a time they object." Another teacher noted that although the community had renovated classrooms and provided a water supply, they thought the community should renovate the entire school. In contrast, one teacher denied that there was any support from the community:

If you look at our school, there is nothing from the community. During raining season, most of the classes are leaking. Anytime we resume from breaks, our classes will be contaminated with human faeces; there is no security in the school.

One group of pupils also complained of classrooms being used as toilets by some community members and drugs users.

Outside of infrastructural development and support, however, there was clearly less agreement and/or less effective communication between some community members and the school. The head teacher saw the encroachment onto school land and/or the selling of school land by community leaders as the school's main problem. Interestingly, in another school, the ES had taken a PTA chair to court for encroachment into school lands and won the case.

A major area of tension between some parents and teachers was some teachers' use of corporal punishment. Indeed, teachers thought parental attitudes, especially as regards corporal punishment, constituted one of school's main challenges:

Parents insult teachers when pupils are disciplined.

Parents molest teachers when pupils are disciplined.

Parents are harassing teachers.

Parents attack teachers for caning their wards.

The PTA committee reportedly had had to intervene between parents and teachers, with reports that someone told parents: "When you spare the rod, you spare the child". Teachers felt the need for more PTA meetings and "greater parent-teacher cooperation" to address parents and "tell them that we are there for the children. Let them support us in training the children." There was a call for better attendance at PTA meetings and a plea for PTA members to visit school more to check on and report pupils' problems. School staff thought more meetings with parents could also help rectify absenteeism, latecoming and non-enrolment of children, especially by "ignorant parents" although one teacher thought that teachers should go to pupils' homes to check on absent pupils. There was contradictory evidence among some school and community members as to whether the issue of pupil absenteeism had been raised with parents. However, the LGEA said they had successfully worked with the PTA in one school to address parents on attendance, which had subsequently improved.

Some Muslim parents were singled out by teachers as needing to be educated on "western education." Pupils too felt more dialogue was necessary with some parents, as some "don't care" or are "indifferent" to school. The parents interviewed said that the school reported back to parents about pupils in meetings and invited parents to school but admitted: "Some parents don't understand; they try to fight teachers," which is a further reference to disagreements about corporal punishment.

Some teachers wanted greater communication with *mallams* and religious leaders to encourage children to go to Domingo Primary School in the morning and Qur'anic schools in the evening. According to one teacher, the school had tried to persuade parents to send their children to school by 7:30am.

There was a call from some school and LGEA sources for greater community involvement. The ES thought this could include provision of accommodation for teachers near the school, provision of water supply and supervision of teachers and school activities.

The LGEA in particular was also keen on greater involvement by the SBMC in the running of schools, which they thought would help the LGEA to do its job. The ES and SS gave examples of “strong SBMCs” in the area: One school SBMC chair had mobilised “old boys” and they had constructed a classroom block; another SBMC chair had lobbied and got furniture and classroom blocks from the Board for their school; another had fixed the borehole in a school; another had “enlightened” parents to sew new school uniforms. In Domingo the SBMC representative acknowledged that the SBMC was “weak now because it is a new body and we don’t have resources” although the head teacher said the SBMC was good at lobbying for school projects. The SBMC representative also admitted that the community preferred to communicate through the PTA. He also emphasised the need for the school to respond to the community: “They have to because if they don’t do what the community wants, they will be in trouble.”

2.3 The LGEA/LGA

LGEA/LGA internal relations

LGEA officials felt they needed greater incentives to help them do their work: the ES felt that the Level 14 barrier should be removed so that the ES could reach Level 17 like counterparts in other government areas; the SS mentioned the need to have running costs paid for his motor bike, and for more stationery. The view was also expressed that the “office of the ES should not be politicised; it should be professional” and that teacher appointments were also sometimes politicised, with unqualified “natives” [Gude] sometimes preferred over qualified “non indigenes” One of the teachers echoed this view: “Politics in the appointment of officers should be discouraged.”

School governance

There was widespread recognition across school, community and LGEA respondents that addressing teachers’ conditions of service was major way of improving the quality of education. The greatest priority, all agreed, was for government to ensure prompt payment of teachers’ salaries. Teachers were unanimous that delayed promotions and salaries, and poor salaries was what they most disliked about school. “Teachers are not treated well,” one said. “Government should take care of teachers”, one parent said “and ensure teachers are paid on time.” Conversely, a couple of teachers said that good pay and prompt promotion were what would most help them do their job better. It was suggested that government should pay teachers’ salaries similar to those in other organisations. The SS noted that the bank payment schedule, in particular, should be revisited because it caused teacher absenteeism. One parent noted the need to stop teachers’ strikes.

LGEA officials agreed. The ES thought teachers’ salaries should be increased by up to 27%; teachers should be trained up to NCE level; motorbikes should be provided for head teachers; and that there should not be a cap of Level 14 for primary teachers who held a degree since they could reach Level 17 at secondary schools, which encouraged a brain drain from primary schools. The ES also said he had promised to grant a duty post allowance requested by head teachers and school supervisors, and he also wanted motorbikes to be provided for head teachers.

The shortage of properly qualified teachers was also brought up by LGEA, PTA and school staff as an issue affecting pupil access, which the SS thought was partly due to the poor incentives for teachers.

In terms of governance, the head teacher confirmed that the district education committee was not operational while the ES made it clear that he relied on communities, PTAs and SBMCs. He said he met directly with SBMCs, and asked for support from the communities before asking government: “I do ask the community to do whatever they can do to assist the school before government can come in.”

LGEA officials also acknowledged the work the Board has done, particularly as regards constructing classrooms and improved provision of textbooks and free uniforms, which had, in turn, improved access, but said more classrooms, furniture and textbooks were needed to further encourage more pupils into school. Teacher’s guides and teaching aids were also requested. Teachers were unhappy about school conditions, and requested “decongested classrooms” with adequate furniture. As one teacher pointed out: “even the teachers, sometimes we stand in the class; we don’t have seats”. Teachers and pupils also wanted more teaching materials (which they thought government and parents should jointly provide). However, only one teacher thought the lack of school materials was the main obstacle to pupil learning. Teachers also wanted a better foundation for pupils through nursery education and thought Grade II should still be accepted as a teaching qualification. The provision of computer facilities was mentioned by one LGEA official and one pupil group. Lack of toilet facilities and water were also mentioned: “We don’t have water and toilets, so it’s an access problem”.

There was also a strong call from some pupils, teachers and the community leader for play facilities and materials to be provided to increase enrolments, which was also a view endorsed by the LGEA. One LGEA official also thought the creation of recreational facilities and clubs and societies encourages pupils to come and stay in school.

School support

Teachers were positive about support by the LGEA. One teacher thought the ES had an “open door” policy while another said the SS visited the school every two to three days “checking our lesson notes and making corrections” and giving advice. The head teacher agreed, saying the ES came to the school to solve school problems and provided materials such as charts, apparatus etc. However, teacher absenteeism was still considered to be an issue and there was a feeling that although some action was being taken in transferring teachers who taught far from home to schools nearer home, the LGEA could take more action on teacher absenteeism.

LGEA staff thought teachers needed regular induction and professional training but did not indicate who should be doing the training or what form it should take: “Let there be induction and trainings for teachers regularly.” LGEA officials said they taught teachers how to improvise teaching materials and encouraged them to share professional knowledge among themselves but admitted: “We need new innovations in our professions.” There was reportedly liaison with head teachers to mobilise teachers into setting a good example to pupils by organising hygiene and sanitation activities and evening games.

LGEA–community relations

The PTA was identified by the LGEA as providing the main link between the community and the school, and primarily seemed to be involved in community mobilisation, to encourage parents to send pupils to school. The ES explained:

At the beginning of [the] first term, we send information to community and religious leaders and parents asking them to bring their children up to 6 years for free admission. Sometimes we go to the parents and ask the parents to give us their children for enrolment.

The ward head was also seen as a key person to work with in order to reach communities, as the SS explained:

Last year we went to the ward head, which helped us in mobilising the community, especially on the effect of Qur'anic schools causing low enrolment in primary schools. This strategy helped to get more enrolments this year.

The LGEA highlighted recent mobilisation efforts as being particularly successful in increasing the number of female enrolments. Although the LGEA thought generally that they were having greater success among the Christian community than the Muslim community, it was noted that efforts in Domingo School had proved particularly successful with increasing the number of Muslim girls in school. The PTA and one of the teachers thought more sensitisation and mobilisation was needed among the community to further increase enrolment. Parents mentioned using female mentors such as politicians and religious leaders, to organise sensitisation talks with girls. They said they preferred female speakers because they were mothers and could persuade children faster. As one parent explained:

If pupils especially girls see a successful woman talking with them, they will want to be like her. Moreover, women are mothers, they will tell the truth so that you can understand they will never play politics with the issue of education and they know how to talk and draw children's attention.

"We must use this to be successful", one parent said.

The LGEA also highlighted other successes working to support schools, such as planting trees and renovating classrooms, and responding to a community complaint of understaffing, by employing temporary teachers. Nevertheless, there was disagreement about the degree of contact between the LGEA and communities, and the community leader urged for more communication: "There should be consultations among government and the community from time to time." The LGEA also thought communities needed to be further enlightened on the roles of the PTA and the community as regards the school.

AIC3. EDUCATIONAL ACCESS, QUALITY AND OUTCOMES – A SUMMARY

AIC3.1 Infrastructure and security

- The LGEA noted that school infrastructure was gradually improving across the LGEA, resulting in increased enrolments.
- But there was widespread agreement among respondents that Domingo lacked sufficient classrooms and furniture, or had rooms and furniture in need of repair, all of which impacted negatively on pupil learning.
- The school had one block of toilets in poor condition, causing people to defecate in the surrounding area – a major issue of concern for the SBMC.
- The school has no electricity or potable water supply as the borehole is always dry, forcing pupils to leave the compound in search of water and some do not return.
- Poor water and sanitation were judged by some to affect access.
- The compound is shared with the SS and the primary school site operates a double shift with the JSS – both issues of concern for some community members.
- The school's location next to a main road has resulted in children being hit by passing cars and bikes on the way to/from school.
- Security is poor as the compound is only partially fenced, the main gate is unstaffed (no money to pay a security guard) and a dirt track runs across the compound.
- School and community respondents agreed that lack of security was a major issue and some thought improved security would increase enrolment and reduce teacher and pupil absenteeism and pupil dropout.

- Lack of security was said to have resulted in vandalism, drug-using youths using the classrooms at night, JSS pupils arriving early and loitering round the school, and unrestricted access by vendors and *almajiri*.
- There was a call across respondent groups for more play and recreational facilities, clubs and societies to be provided in school to encourage enrolment and retention.

AIC3.2 Teacher management

- It was commonly agreed that “teachers are trying” and that the education situation is generally improving but that teacher morale is low and impacting on school quality.
- Teachers complained about poor salaries, delays in payment and promotion, overcrowded classrooms with insufficient furniture and teaching materials.
- LGEA and community members were very sympathetic to teachers’ complaints, and considered government’s need to address the issues as fundamental to improving school quality.
- But there was also widespread recognition that teacher absenteeism and latecoming caused by low teacher morale constituted a major obstacle to pupil learning, as did teachers’ strikes.
- Parents and other community members called for stricter supervision of teachers.
- The shortage of trained teachers was also highlighted as a major access issue, which the LGEA attributed to poor incentives for teachers.
- Teachers were positive about support from the LGEA although some thought that more action should be taken by the LGEA as regards teacher absenteeism.
- The school’s degree-trained counselling teacher reportedly looks after both staff and pupil welfare.
- Teacher duties were said to be allocated on merit, but were often gendered e.g. the discipline teacher was male, the health teacher was female.

AIC3.3. Pupil management and pupil relations

- Pupil attendance was said to be variable, though no particular social group was singled out. But in all lesson observations more boys were absent from class.
- Corporal punishment was sanctioned under certain conditions in the school and was central to school discipline in practice.
- The unspoken policy on corporal punishment was gendered with girls reportedly getting caned (usually more lightly) on the back of the legs or hand, and boys on the buttocks, with punishments recorded in the book. Male teachers were thought by some to beat harder.
- Widespread and indiscriminate corporal punishment by teachers, prefects and monitors, using a range of implements, was observed and was the source of many pupil complaints.
- Pupils, especially girls, reported pupil truancy and dropout on account of corporal punishment and the SBMC reported some parents transferring pupils to other schools on account of it.
- A few parents reportedly brought children to school to be beaten.
- Other punishments, which were often gender-specific (e.g. girls sweeping, cleaning toilets, boys frog-jumping) included sweeping the compound, picking up litter, cleaning the toilets, being made to kneel down, frog-jumping, machine-riding etc. but also counselling and verbal rebukes, sometimes by the head teacher.
- Female pupils in particular disliked being sent home as a punishment.
- An extensive, specialized prefect system operated in the school with a gendered hierarchical system, e.g. the head boy was in overall charge of boys and girls whereas the head girl was only in charge of girls.
- At break pupils generally socialized in gender-segregated age-related groups.

- Teachers and pupils agreed there was a fair amount of bullying and fighting, which female pupils, in particular disliked. This was especially noticeable in classes without teachers.
- Both female and male pupils, and prefects and monitors, were mentioned in relation to bullying but large, overage boys in particular were singled out both for bullying and being bullied.
- Pupils who missed a term were reportedly ridiculed and teased/bullied by peers.

AIC3.4 Teaching and learning

- Although pupils said they had some “good teachers”, there was recognition by pupils and parents that more “good teaching” (unspecified) would improve enrolment and retention.
- There were sufficient classrooms but conditions were overcrowded (65–76 pupils observed in lessons) with five pupils squeezed on a bench, potholed floors and chalkboards in variable condition.
- Reportedly 20–30 pupils generally repeat the year, in response to parental requests, following poor attendance and/or performance.
- Most pupils had writing materials but very few had textbooks and only one teacher was seen using a textbook in class.
- Pupils thought more textbooks would help their learning while other LGEA and community members thought more textbooks and teaching aids would improve enrolment.
- Despite some teachers’ efforts, pupils generally sat and interacted in gender-segregated groups, even if it meant more overcrowding, and overage pupils and/or boys were often grouped at the back.
- Teacher talk dominated in most lessons interspersed with choral repetition and some individual questioning, which made limited cognitive demands of pupils. Pupils were observed copying from the board in some lessons, with the teacher monitoring.
- Given the large classes, very few pupils got to participate individually, but generally more girls were thought to answer questions than boys though more girls were present in all classes.
- Learning in English caused major learning difficulties for pupils, resulting in teachers needing to code-switch with Hausa though some pupils were said even not to understand Hausa.
- Most pupils felt they learnt best in a mix of English and Hausa though some pupils and teachers considered all-English lessons to be better.
- Most pupils thought female and male teachers treated girls and boys the same though some thought some teachers favoured “more intelligent” pupils and that some female teachers hurried to leave class.
- Teacher–pupil relations were generally observed to be positive and teachers were supportive though one carried a cane.
- Both boys and girls were observed messing about and making noise in several classes with no teacher intervention and in a couple of classes pupils wandered in and out at will.
- Where teachers had control of the class pupils seemed to get on well; otherwise, older, bigger boys were seen bullying younger boys and girls.
- Pupils mentioned being teased for sitting next to someone from the “opposite sex” or for getting the answer wrong.
- Overage pupils in particular were susceptible to being teased and more affected by the teasing.
- No particular social groups were identified as consistently performing well or badly although girls and boys were adamant that “the other” cheated or copied.

AIC3.5 Socio-economic and family issues

- School and community respondents identified poverty, malnutrition and hunger as having a major impact on pupil learning.
- All pupil groups said they occasionally missed the odd day through sickness and/or caring for sick family members.
- All respondents agreed that the non-enrolment, absenteeism and dropout of many pupils, especially boys, is due to their involvement in petty trading, apprenticeships or farming.
- Petty trading was the most commonly cited reason for dropout among boys, with the nearby motor park and market considered major sources of work opportunities.
- Some overage boys in school had reportedly dropped out to trade or farm and then re-enrolled.
- Children's labour was said to be particularly in demand during harvesting but also sometimes before school, when boys in particular were sent to farm or look after animals.
- Home chores were widely identified as a major cause of latecoming and absenteeism for girls and boys, but especially girls, who sometimes also looked after siblings.
- Some pupils arrived late to school because of the distance from home, with pupils in a few locations in the LGEA unable to reach school during the rains if they had to cross a river.
- Attendance at Qur'anic schools was a major cause of latecoming among Muslim girls and boys and overage enrolment for boys who have been sent away for a Tsangaya education before starting conventional school.
- Some Muslim parents were said to prefer a wholly Tsangaya education for their children because of their mistrust of "western education", though a combined Islamiyya education was thought to be more appealing to a few.
- Around 1,000 *almajiri* were said to be in the area according to the LGEA.
- Pupil lateness and truancy, and not doing homework, particularly by boys, was often blamed on poor parenting though some pupils were said to be without parental support.
- Both Christian and Muslim pupils said they sometimes got help from siblings in doing homework and some Christian pupils said they also had help from parents.
- Some parents were said to be unaware that their children were not going to school.
- Community and school respondents considered that the inability of some families to pay school fees or afford writing materials and uniforms, in particular, impacted heavily on enrolment, absenteeism and retention.
- Most respondents thought school was equally important for girls and boys though some thought that some parents, both Christian and Muslim, considered it to be more important to educate boys.

3.6 School-community relations (including LGEA involvement)

- The PTA was universally acknowledged as the main channel of communication between the school and community and the LGEA and the community.
- The SBMC was said to be new and "weak" because it lacked funds.
- PTA committee members reporting holding regular meetings with teachers and LGEA officials and thought the school responded well to their concerns.
- The PTA levy of ₦100 per term, other donations and adhoc collections were used to renovate and develop the school.
- The LGEA said that most community support related mainly to construction and repairs and employment of temporary teachers.

- Outside these issues, there was less agreement among, and/or less effective communication between some community members and the school and/or LGEA.
- Corporal punishment was a source of friction between some parents and teachers.
- Greater parent–teacher co-operation was called for, even by pupils, as was better parental attendance at PTA meetings and more consultation of communities by government.
- There was contradictory evidence on the extent to which pupil absenteeism had been raised with parents.
- Although acknowledging some support, some school and LGEA respondents thought the community could and should do more for the school, e.g. provide teacher accommodation, supervise school activities.
- The LGEA wanted SBMCs to be more involved in running schools.
- Examples of activities by strong SBMCs within the LGEA included lobbying for funds, fixing a school borehole, encouraging parents to sew new school uniforms and mobilising “old boys” to construct a classroom block.
- LGEA officials wanted more incentives (e.g. running costs for vehicles, removal of salary caps, duty post allowances for head teachers and SSs) and for appointments to be depoliticized to help them do their jobs better.
- LGEA officials deemed recent mobilization efforts to have been very successful in increasing girls’ participation in schooling, especially increasing the number of Muslim girls in Domingo.
- Both Muslim and Christian communities in the LGEA were said to be positive generally about girls’ education, though Christian communities were thought to show more commitment to girls’ schooling in Domingo.
- More social mobilisation was called for by some school and community sources, to further improve enrolments using female role models and religious leaders.

APPENDIX ID

METROPOLIS PRIMARY SCHOOL CASE STUDY REPORT

AID1. CONTEXT AND QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

This is the case study report of Metropolis Primary School in the context of the relevant LGEA and the school's local community. It is an urban school located in the Central Senatorial Zone of the state.

Respondents

A mixture of formal group and individual interviews were held with 16 adults and 28 children, as indicated in Table AID1.1. Same-gender group interviews were held with pupils (two female, three male), and group interviews were also held with parents and community leaders. Other respondents were interviewed individually. While there was a gender and religious balance for pupil interviewees, the vast majority of adult respondents were Muslim and male. Female and Christian representation at the community and LGEA level was non-existent.

Table AID1.1 Metropolis case study respondents

Participant group	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	TOTAL
School – staff (head teacher, teachers)	5	0	2	3	5
School – pupils	15	13	14	14	28
Community (parents, PTA, SBMC, community leader)	0	9	9	0	9
LGEA (including ES,SS)	1	1	2	0	2
TOTAL	20	24	27	17	44

Additionally, informal interactions were held with an overage boy (a 20 year-old) and another 11-year old boy.

AID1.1 The LGA (LGEA)

Socio-demographic context

The LGA lies in the Central Senatorial Zone and comprises a large flat urban area with a population of just under 200,000, according to the most recent census. Consequently, many houses have access to potable water, electricity, medical facilities and to other essential goods and services. The LGEA has a diverse population, both Muslim and Christian. Although Lakka is the area's indigenous ethnic group the population is of mixed ethnicity, for example Hausa-Fulani, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba are all represented. Most of the population are involved in commercial activities though on the outskirts of the urban area, there is subsistence farming.

Local Educational Context

See main report, Chapter 4.

AID1.2. The school community

Metropolis Primary School is located in the centre of a major urban area in a religiously and ethnically mixed community. It is also situated on a main road and close to a major market, shops and several places of worship. Most parents are said to be traders and civil servants although some are also involved in farming, with extra labour needed in July and August, according to the school. The major ethnic groups represented in the locality are Hausa, Hausa-Fulani, who are Muslim, although there are also substantial (almost all) Christian Lakka, Yoruba and Igbo communities in the area. The language of interaction within the wider community and in the school is Hausa. Pupils interviewed also mentioned communicating in the following languages at home: Igbo, Yoruba, Bali, Idoma and Igala.

AID1.3 The school

School description

Basic school information

Metropolis Primary School lies on the main road in a major urban centre and has an intake of over 1,700 pupils. Most pupils come from within a radius of 2km from the school though some pupils reported taking up to an hour to reach school on foot. Female pupils account for 49.7% of enrolments whereas males account for 50.3%. Currently, 53.2% of the pupil intake is Muslim and 46.8% is Christian. An admission or readmission fee of ₦100 has recently been dropped. Each pupil pays a PTA levy of ₦50 per term.

It should also be noted that there was a change of school management between earlier and later research visits, which clearly had a positive impact on the school, e.g. improving security. Since data were gathered over time it may be that some of the issues raised by some respondents have subsequently been addressed following the change of management.

The staff

The head teacher is a Muslim male and had only recently taken over the headship. There are 72 other teaching staff members. The distribution of the teachers (including the head teacher) by qualification and gender is shown in Table AID1.2 below. Of the 73-strong teaching force there are almost twice as many male teachers (48; 65.8%) as female teachers (25; 34.2%) and the vast majority are qualified (83.6%). Almost three quarters of the teaching force (72.6%) have NCE while eight – almost all women – are degree holders (11%). Seven male and three female non-teaching staff are also employed by the school.

Table AID1.2: Teachers, including head teacher, by qualification and gender

	Qualifications	Female	Male	TOTAL
Qualified	Degree	7	1	8 (11.0%)
	NCE	13	40	53 (72.6%)
Unqualified	TC II	5	7	12 (16.4%)
	Others	0	0	0
TOTAL		25 (34.2%)	48 (65.8%)	73

Statistics on educational access and pupil outcomes

Pupil enrolment

Over the last four years, enrolments have decreased slightly, from 1794 in 2007–8 to 1716 in 2010–11, peaking at 1797 in 2008–9, as illustrated in Table AID1.3. For the first three years of the period the gender ratio remained fairly constant at around 47% for female pupils, to 53% for male pupils. However, in 2010–11 the ratio reversed dramatically, due in particular to a large increase in the number of Muslim female pupils that now total over 900 and make up over half the school population, to 60.1% for female pupils and 39.9% for male pupils. This may be attributable to the success of the recent large-scale advocacy campaigns about getting more girls into school, which are highlighted in the qualitative data. Over the last four years, it has retained a steady 1500 Muslim pupils, after dropping slightly in 2008–9 and 2009–10. However, the percentage of the school population that is Muslim has increased as the number of Christian pupils have decreased; after peaking at 332 (18.5% of the school population) in 2008–9 there are now only 183 Christian pupils, comprising only 10.7% of the school population. This, it has been suggested by parents, may be due to Christian parents withdrawing their children to place them in private schools.

Table AID1.3 Metropolis Primary School enrolments by gender and religion 2007–8 to 2010–11

Year	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	TOTAL
2007–8	842 (46.9%)	952 (53.1%)	1532 (85.4%)	262 (14.6%)	1794
2008–9	839 (46.7%)	958 (53.3%)	1465 (81.5%)	332 (18.5%)	1797
2009–10	819 (47.2%)	917 (52.8%)	1419 (81.7%)	317 (18.3%)	1736
2010–11	1032(60.1%)	684 (39.9%)	1533 (89.3%)	183 (18.4%)	1716

When considering enrolment figures by grade (see Table AID1.4) for the four-year period in question, there are no clear patterns. The most striking observation, however, is the substantial drop in numbers of the Primary 1 cohort of 280 in 2009–10, which was almost halved to 141 in 2010–11; this did not occur with the Primary 1 cohorts of 2007–8 and 2008–9 which only recorded modest reductions in number in Primary 2 the following year. There are some strange drops and/or hikes in numbers year on year with particular social groups that also cast doubt on the reliability of the figures and/or point to children leaving and re-entering school or entering school midway through the school cycle. This ebb and flow of numbers is also difficult to explain in the light of the school's statement that no pupils drop out of the school but rather transfer to other schools (see the section below on dropout) and a statement by one member of school management stating that the school did not allow more than five pupils to repeat in any one class. For example, a group of 122 Muslim female pupils in Primary 2 in 2007–8, subsequently becomes a group of 115 in Primary 3 the following year, and then increases substantially to 142 in Primary 4 the year after, increasing to 243 in Primary 5 in 2010–11 – almost double the number of the Primary 2 cohort.

Table AID1.4 Metropolis Primary School enrolment by gender and grade 2007–8 to 2010–1

Level	2007–8			2008–9			2009–10			2010–11		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
P1	135 (44.1%)	171 (55.9%)	306	140 (48.3%)	150 (51.7%)	290	140 (50.0%)	140 (50.0%)	280	219 (62.0%)	134 (38.0%)	353
P2	143 (50.2%)	142 (49.8%)	285	140 (47.5%)	155 (52.5%)	295	113 (43.0%)	150 (57.0%)	263	82 (58.2%)	59 (41.8%)	141
P3	145 (50.3%)	143 (49.7%)	288	140 (46.8%)	159 (53.2%)	299	134 (48.4%)	143 (51.6%)	277	119 (48.0%)	129 (52.0%)	248
P4	124 (44.9%)	174 (54.2%)	321	162 (48.4%)	173 (51.6%)	335	161 (49.2%)	166 (50.8%)	327	177 (55.7%)	141 (44.3%)	318
P5	154 (49.0%)	165 (54.5%)	303	126 (45.0%)	154 (55.0%)	238	134 (46.4%)	155 (53.6%)	289	266 (68.9%)	120 (31.1%)	386
P6	86 (38.1%)	157 (54.0%)	291	131 (44.0%)	167 (56.0%)	280	137 (45.7%)	163 (54.3%)	300	169 (62.6%)	101 (37.4%)	270
TOTAL	842 (46.9%)	952 (53.1%)	1794	839 (46.7%)	958 (53.3%)	1797	819 (47.2%)	917 (52.8%)	1736	1032 (60.1%)	684 (39.9%)	1716

Table AID1.5 Metropolis Primary School enrolment by religion and grade 2007–8 to 2010–11

Level	2007–8			2008–9			2009–10			2010–11		
	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	Total
P1	267 (87.3%)	39 (12.7%)	306	245 (84.5%)	45 (15.5%)	290	212 (75.7%)	68 (24.3%)	280	329 (93.2%)	24 (6.8%)	353
P2	242 (84.9%)	43 (15.1%)	285	244 (82.7%)	51 (17.3%)	295	212 (80.6%)	51 (19.4%)	263	127 (90.1%)	14 (9.9%)	141
P3	246 (85.4%)	42 (14.6%)	288	247 (82.6%)	52 (17.4%)	299	234 (84.5%)	43 (15.5%)	277	220 (88.7%)	28 (11.3%)	248
P4	273 (85.0%)	48 (15.0%)	321	277 (82.7%)	58 (21.1%)	335	271 (82.9%)	56 (17.1%)	327	279 (87.7%)	39 (12.3%)	318
P5	256 (84.5%)	47 (15.5%)	303	221 (78.9%)	59 (22.5%)	238	245 (84.8%)	44 (15.2%)	289	339 (87.8%)	47 (12.2%)	386
P6	248 (85.2%)	43 (14.8%)	291	231 (77.5%)	67 (18.5%)	280	245 (81.7%)	55 (18.3%)	300	239 (88.5%)	31 (11.5%)	270
TOTAL	1532 (85.4%)	262 (14.6%)	1794	1465 (81.5%)	332 (18.5%)	1797	1419 (81.7%)	317 (18.3%)	1736	1533 (89.3%)	183 (10.7%)	1716

Overage pupils

Statistics for the number of overage pupils were not available in the school.

Pupil attendance

Tables AID1.6 and AID1.7 below illustrate the number of pupil days absent per term by gender and religion, respectively. Total numbers of pupil days absent per year apparently increased from 47 in to 78 in 2007–8 to 2009–10, with more absences recorded for boys than girls in each of the years, and more for Muslims than Christians. More importantly, however, comparing the very low numbers of absences with the very high numbers of pupils (over 1,700 for each of the three years) leads to the improbable conclusion that the vast majority of pupils never miss a day of school. However, the qualitative data strongly suggest otherwise, which means that the figures below are likely to represent a major underestimation.

Table AID1.6 Metropolis Primary School number of days absent by term and by gender 2007–8 to 2009–10

	Gender	2007–8	2008–9	2009–10	TOTAL
First term	Female	9	12	6	27
	Male	8	9	15	32
Second term	Female	5	3	13	21
	Male	8	9	15	32
Third term	Female	8	5	15	28
	Male	9	11	14	34
Annual Totals		47	49	78	

Table AID1.7 Metropolis Primary School number of days absent by term and religion 2007–8 to 2009–10

	Religion	2007–8	2008–9	2009–10	TOTAL
First term	Muslim	16	16	17	49
	Christian	1	5	4	10
Second term	Muslim	11	9	16	36
	Christian	2	3	12	17
Third term	Muslim	13	12	22	47
	Christian	4	4	7	15
Annual Totals		47	49	78	

Pupil dropout

Dropout rates were not provided by the school because it was said that pupils did not drop out from school but only transferred out to other schools though much of the qualitative data suggest that there are dropouts.

Pupil performance

The performance data for the three-year period 2007–8 to 2009–10 set out in Table AID1.8 seem very unreliable given that the top mark for female Muslim pupils in 2007–8 exceeded 100% at the same time as the top mark for Christian boys was merely 10%. Ignoring the mistaken 104%, the table shows that Primary 6 marks have ranged from 5% to a 94% across the social groups with Muslim pupils performing better than Christian pupils. A further reason to doubt the reliability of the figures lies in the fact that if correct, they would indicate that the top mark scored by a Christian boy in each of the years would be less than the bottom mark scored by a Muslim girl or boy.

Table AID1.8 Metropolis Primary School pupil performance according to gender and religion 2007–8 to 2009–10

Year	Marks	Female		Male		Overall range of marks
		Muslim	Christian	Muslim	Christian	
2007–8	top mark	104	20	94	10	10–104
	bottom mark	28	5	22	8	5–28
2008–9	top mark	60	25	80	20	20–80
	bottom mark	38	8	53	14	8–53
2009–10	top mark	71	16	82	21	21–82
	bottom mark	59	6	33	12	6–59

AID2. QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

AID2.1. The school

General school issues

School buildings and facilities

The primary school shares the premises with a junior secondary school, which is built just behind the primary school. The primary school has 44, mostly new, classrooms spread among several buildings, some of which are two storeys high. All the grades have sufficient classrooms. The school is fenced with a substantial wall that has two official entrances. There is also an examinations hall, a computer hall and a well-stocked library though pupils were not seen using either the computers or the library on research visits. Teachers wanted library lessons to be included on the timetable to encourage greater use of the library. There are also two head teacher's offices, one of which is for the assistant head teacher, and a staffroom, which was not being used at the time of the research. A mosque is on the school site used by JSS pupils. There is some cultivation in the centre of the compound, including some flowers, and a sports field that was marked off with some posts and wire and is for the exclusive use of the primary school. There are four large trees in the compound and some additional shade is provided by the shaded walkways outside the classroom blocks.

There is electricity in the school and water is periodically an issue in the school but the community leaders said parents are now happy that there is a water source on the compound whereas before pupils had to cross the main road to buy water and some Muslim boys were said not to return to school after break. As one parent explained: "Some pupils will complain of thirst and on the process going out to get water, they run away from school". However, the borehole suffers from power problems and isn't always functioning. Hawkers in the compound at break sell water as well as snacks. When the three pumps were working pupils were observed fighting to get water with no teacher supervision. Older, bigger boys were dominating access, elbowing other pupils out of the way although at one pump an older boy was ensuring the younger girls and boys could get water, which was collected in plates and pots.

There are four toilet blocks with several cubicles and which are gender-segregated, with one allocated to staff and three to pupils. One block was also shared with the junior secondary school on the compound. The toilets were unlocked and seemed to be in good condition when researchers visited although judging by some comments (see below) this may not always be the case. According to the school and community profile, their condition was adjudged "fair" by school management. Nevertheless, the toilets appeared little used, as boys were seen urinating by the side of them. Although most pupils liked the fact that the school was neat and clean, one group complained about the condition of the toilets, which was an issue also raised by the community leaders, who thought better toilet facilities would help increase enrolment.

Security

There was a major improvement in security from the time of the first research visits to the later visits under the new head teacher, as the side entrance was closed and holes in the wall were repaired, leaving the main gate, guarded by two security men, as the only entrance to the school. The security men, who carried a cane to beat JSS latecomers, moved from the main gate itself to seek shade when the day got hotter. Thus, although many outsiders were seen wandering in and out in earlier visits, following the change of management, the security had tightened up by the last visit. The improved security was appreciated by the parents interviewed, though parents and community leaders still thought security could be better and would improve attendance, if the school could stop pupils from leaving the compound. Hawkers were only allowed to sell during break periods.

School routines

Lessons are from 8am to 12.30 for Primary 1 to 3, and until 1.05pm for Primary 4 to 6. Break is from 10 to 10.30am with a second, short five-minute break at noon. A short assembly is held three times a week, on Monday, Wednesday and Friday from 7.50 to 8am. Classroom cleaning takes place every day before assembly or lessons. General labour day occurs every two weeks on Thursdays, 8 to 9am.

The head teacher thought that the annual speech and prize-giving day, which community leaders attend, helped encourage pupils to come to school.

School management of staff

There were over twice the number of male teachers as female teachers in Metropolis School, though female teachers were said to be in the majority across the LGEA. The head teacher said teachers were appointed to positions of responsibility within the school based on merit but did not elaborate. In addition to the assistant heads, positions of responsibility within the school included the “senior mistress”, the health teacher and exams officer, quiz, debate and duty teachers – all currently female teachers – and the staff secretary and labour teacher, who are male. There are also a female and a male teacher in charge of discipline for girls, and boys, respectively (see *School management of pupils* below).

Pupils, parents and community leaders generally thought that “teachers are trying” in the school and were sympathetic to teachers’ poor wages and delays in payment (see Section 2.3 *LGEA, school governance*) though management admitted that teacher professionalism was a problem among some teachers with one estimate that only around 50% of teachers conducted themselves professionally. One senior member of staff thought that some female teachers in particular struggled with attendance and lesson preparation: “maybe because they are female teachers and maybe because they do home chores, so they don’t have enough time.” The SS calculated that around three quarters of female teachers had to do home chores in the morning before school.

School management said that counselling strategies were used to address teacher indiscipline, which generally referred to absenteeism. They said that teachers were referred to the school advisory committee, whose members were selected by the head teacher, if the problem was “academic”, and to the school counsellor if the problem was “social”:

We use teachers who read guidance and counselling to counsel erring teachers and pupils. It is only when [a] problem gets out of hand that offending teachers are reported to the LGEA.

The head teacher recognised that poor attendance by teachers was bad for pupils and one group of pupils pointed to teacher absenteeism as one reason why some pupils “run away from school at break time; they say there is no teaching going on.”

That said, on research visits there, very few teachers were seen sitting around the compound not teaching, unlike in some schools. More generally across the LGEA, LGEA officials noted that there were some “stubborn” teachers and that teacher absenteeism and truancy was sometimes an issue, but that generally it was the head teacher’s job to enforce discipline in schools. The SS said that they usually questioned and counselled erring teachers – both female and male:

I call them; I counsel them, ask the head master to query them. If they refuse to answer [the head teacher], I do that [question them] myself. I don’t report head master nor teachers [to the ES]. I deal with them myself. Absenteeism, truancy. Our problem is part-time teachers. No action is taken.

This, the SS explained, referred to teachers who despite possessing full-time contracts studied part-time and therefore left the classes unattended. It was suggested that teachers should only be released for study on a rota basis.

Another teacher discipline problem the LGEA faced was the excessive beating of pupils, which generally applied to male teachers. Three incidents of rape were also reported and action was taken after pressure exerted by the community, resulting in the dismissal by the Board of the male teachers involved.

School management of pupils

Reports from the LGEA, staff and pupils were mixed as to the extent of disciplinary issues in the school and the way in which pupils were disciplined although it was acknowledged that there was no written policy.

LGEA officials and school management reported that corporal punishment was generally a thing of the past, with respondents noting variously that it had been prohibited by the Board, was against professional ethics and discouraged pupils' attendance. The ES gave the example of a teacher who used to beat kids very strongly but reformed after being spoken to: "We have stopped beating in schools; it encourages pupils to come to school".

According to management, "only discipline masters and mistress are allowed to spank children" and punishments were supposed to be recorded in a black book though, according to one source, the book was not always used. Boys, management said, were disciplined by the male discipline teacher, generally more harshly, such as caning on the back or on the buttocks, whereas female pupils were generally beaten on the back of the legs by the female discipline teacher. Some of the teachers interviewed, who were all female, maintained that they did not beat children because of the school policy though most disagreed with it, believing caning to be the best way to correct behaviour. One Christian teacher said: "I don't agree with it [policy of no beating]; my Bible said the father chastises the child that he loves." Another teacher was adamant that "there is no way you can correct a child without a cane. The only thing is that you don't do it with annoyance."

Pupils maintained, however, that some teachers, as well as prefects and monitors, did apply corporal punishment, especially if pupils were found to be bullying others or fighting, though not until after the culprit had been questioned on the issue. Pupils also pointed out that female and male teachers generally disciplined differently. All four pupil groups agreed that male teachers were usually harsher, some making pupils lie down and beating more indiscriminately on any part of body and using any implement e.g. using a fan belt.

The male teachers are harsh to pupils, but the female teachers are not that harsh. Male teachers flog children. They tell pupils to lie down but female teachers give kneel down, frog jump etc. (male pupil)

Up to 20 lashes were reported by pupils for some offences. Female teachers were said only to discipline using a cane or by verbal reprimand. One group of female pupils interviewed said that they were not punished only questioned about the issue by the teacher, yet they were keen for latecomers to be flogged when they lied about the reason for their lateness: "They are supposed to be punished because some pupils tell lies that their parents sent them [on errands] and it's not true."

In general, however, pupil views were mixed on corporal punishment. Most pupils considered the practice to be fair, so that, as one male pupil put it: "We can correct ourselves next time." One group of female pupils said they liked "good discipline [fair punishment]" and one female pupil

admitted to being put off her work after being beaten: “I feel bad and don’t participate in class for the rest of the day.” An overage boy interviewed said he disliked the beating and caning in school.

Management and teachers said that school labour was the preferred method of punishment, such as getting pupils to sweep the compound or the library, pick up litter, clean the toilets or being made to kneel down (see section below on *In the classroom, discipline*) for 5 to 10 minutes. Frog-jumps were also mentioned by one teacher.

The main discipline issues identified by management concerned pupil latecoming, which teacher and pupils say affects all pupils, and, to a lesser extent, attendance, though the head teacher thinks that attendance is generally good in the school. The head teacher said that parents are usually questioned before the pupil is disciplined:

We invite parents and inquire of pupils’ poor attendance if any. If a child comes to school today and did not come tomorrow, we call the parents to find out. If the parent said they send the child somewhere, we discourage that but if the parent said they sent him/her to school but they refuse to come, then we discipline the child.

One senior member of staff confirmed that sometimes teaching does not start until second or third period because of pupil lateness, which, as various respondents pointed out, was due to household chores, Qur’anic schooling or because of living far from school (see Section 2.2. on *Family and community* for details). The community leaders said that when they meet pupils that are late – mainly Hausa boys – they told them to hurry up. To encourage pupils to come to school early, the school had a song that children were made to sing every morning: “Boys and girls, boys and girls, come to school, come to school. 7.30, 7.30 is the time of school, 7.30 in the morning.” Parents, however, were displeased that some latecomers were sent home – which one group of pupils also said they disliked – as it hinders pupil learning, as the following statements illustrate:

Batun yaro in yazo letti yakamata ayi masa bulala abar shi ya shiga aji. Amma Koran yaro ache koma gida kayi letti, to zai bar makaranta amma ba zai koma gida ba, sai ya kara taurinkai, ba zai yi karatu ba. [On the issue of boys coming late, we want teachers to flog them and allow him to enter class. But to send him back home, he will leave school and will not return home, that will make him more stubborn and he will not read again.]

Some pupils don’t go back home; they roam the street instead.

Latecomers should be punished but not to be sent back home because the child you sent back home might not really go back home. He may decide to branch [off] somewhere.

Parents and community leaders felt that there should be closer monitoring of pupils by teachers to improve pupil absenteeism or truancy, and that teachers should also monitor pupils roaming about in school compound during lessons. That said, on research visits, relatively few pupils were observed out of class during lesson time and under the new school management later in the research the head teacher was seen gathering up pupils who were late to class after break and getting them to pick up litter. Long-term absenteeism, according to pupils, can also result in corporal punishment.

Pupils reported that some pupils dropped out of school because they didn’t like it. Both female and male pupils generally felt that dropouts should be counselled and/or punished. The head teacher said that generally dropout was not a problem in the school, that generally only 2–3 girls or boys dropped out per term, though mainly girls, but of both religions.

Prefects, led by a head girl and head boy, and monitors also assisted with maintaining discipline. One group of female pupils complained that prefects beat pupils too much and did not attend classes because they were carrying out duties. According to staff and pupils, prefects were selected by a committee based on performance, age, neatness and punctuality although one senior member of staff said: “There are big ones [pupils] that can sometimes be used; even if they are backward, we still use them because of their age”. Depending on their classes, they got different posts and were given “feminine and masculine duties” with female prefects looking after girls and male prefects looking after boys, and doing jobs such as ringing the school bell.

In terms of positive school management, the school was divided into four different houses to promote the spirit of competition and clubs were established including the Muslim Student Society and the Christian Fellowship. According to the deputy head, the school used extra-curricular activities such as egg (and spoon) race or sack races, in school houses, and other sporting activities, to mobilise enrolment and motivate pupils to improve their academic performance. One teacher thought that the school needed to set up a counselling committee to deal with pupil welfare issues.

Pupil–pupil relations

At break pupils were observed generally playing in gender-segregated groups and buying snacks and water off hawkers. Pupils tended to prefer buying food off the pupil-hawker rather than from the older women selling in the compound. Pupil interviews confirmed on the whole that girls and boys preferred to remain in gender-segregated groups although one group of female pupils said that boys and girls mixed and played together. Both groups of boys made gender-typed disparaging remarks about girls to explain the segregation:

Boys play alone because girls are not strong. (male pupil)

We play alone because girls cannot play the way we do play, because they are not strong like us. (male pupil)

Girls too wanted to be separate to avoid “rough play”:

We separate ourselves between girls and boys because boys are doing rough playing; they beat us and we don’t want to be lazy like them. (female pupil)

Although very little bullying or fighting was witnessed in the school during break times, pupils were unanimous that the fighting and bullying is what they most disliked about school. Girls in particular disliked it while one group of boys also complained about stealing in school. Some girls considered bullying to be rife because they considered boys to be rough and to bully a lot.

I don’t like fighting, cursing and bullying in school. I don’t like rough play by pupils in the school. (female pupil)

There is bullying; pupils fight, misbehave and some are jealous because you are more hardworking than them so they try to beat you [up]. The senior boys are fond of bullying the younger girls. (female pupil)

Overage boys and girls in particular were perceived to be bullies by pupils. One group of female pupils thought that overage pupils didn’t get on with other pupils because they were big and did not want younger pupils to disobey them. However, one boy who was overage by many years denied bullying other pupils, said he preferred playing and laughing with the younger pupils and that he too disliked the rough play that went on in the school. Aside from overage pupils, female and male pupils agreed that generally boys bullied girls more. This was backed up by teachers. Bullying behaviours identified by pupils or teachers included shouting, laughing at, beating or punching somebody or throwing stones. Teachers, and sometimes prefects or monitors, were said to intervene and one teacher said that in some cases the parents were called to the school.

Pupils also said that pupils that missed a term were often teased, laughed at or insulted by other pupils for missing school. Some pupils, however, reportedly talked to those who were absent and tried to advise them not to miss school.

In the classroom

Classroom conditions and resources

The five Primary 5 and 6 lessons that were observed were held in new classrooms, with good furniture and clear chalkboards though one or two were dirty and walls were bare in all classrooms. In all of the classrooms there was adequate seating for the pupils, who were seated two to three to a bench.

According to the assistant head, not more than five pupils were allowed to repeat a class, to avoid overcrowding. One teacher thought that pupils should be allowed to repeat, otherwise they would drop out although some were said to transfer to other schools; another teacher thought the PTA should decide about which pupils should repeat. The head said that in general “we do organize special classes for backward pupils to drill them adequately” and one teacher thought an extra class should be put on at break time for repeaters.

Both boys and girls, Christian and Muslim, could be overage though Muslim boys were identified as mostly commonly overage, starting primary school at 10–12 years old after completing several years of Islamic schooling in other towns. Several overage pupils observed in class were around 20 years old. One of the senior members of staff explained that overage children mostly comprise pupils who have transferred from other schools or who are new admissions. They also said that initially, the school had established a special class for the overage pupils taught by experienced staff, adopting an individualised instruction strategy. The idea was for children to later join the regular class at an appropriate level according to “individual ability”. The class was closed by the previous management but the idea was about to be revived by the new head teacher and the class would now also take care of repeaters or pupils that had previously dropped out.

Although most pupils in the observed classes had writing materials with them, a few did not and were seen borrowing in class, with girls generally borrowing from girls, and boys from boys though in one observation a boy was seen snatching a ruler from another male pupil, which pupils mentioned was a problem. Moreover, some teachers said that some pupils either did not possess or did not bring writing materials with them. Textbooks were also a challenge. In the observed classes, textbook coverage ranged from one textbook in the class to the majority of pupils having a textbook. Pupils, school management and some of the teachers agreed that more textbooks were needed. Pupils said it was difficult to learn without books, a view echoed by the LGEA, with reference to the more general shortage within the LGEA.

Seating arrangements

In the five observed lessons, class sizes ranged from 35 to 49 (13–17 girls; 20–29 boys). There were more boys than girls in all the classrooms, although this did not reflect the gender ratio in terms of enrolment within the school for Primary 5 and 6. This may either be because the statistics are inaccurate or because more girls were absent from class since numbers represent pupils present rather than numbers on the register. The average class size, according to one senior member of staff, was 50, which, if correct, means that there was a high rate of absenteeism in some of the lessons observed. The number of Christian pupils per class in the school was generally said not to exceed ten.

Pupils were seated two to three on a bench; benches were organised in three columns and seating was generally gender-segregated with pupils grouped in gender-specific columns although one class had girls at the front and boys at the back. In two classes some mixed seating was observed.

Pedagogy (including teacher–pupil relations)

The five lessons observed were all teacher-dominated, predominantly or wholly led from the front of the class. In two of the lessons the teacher monologued for most of the time in English (see below). In the two Maths lessons observed a few pupils were called to the board to work out sums. In almost all the lessons pupils did a lot of copying from the board. Questioning was predominantly choral with some individual questioning in some classes, in which questions were shared between girls and boys. Only one teacher spent considerable time wandering round the class checking individual pupils' progress. No teaching aids were used.

Within the school, according to one LGEA official, remedial classes were organised for pupils who did not understand the lessons:

You know, we don't have dull children in education; we only have backward pupils. We give them special attention. We divide the board into two; one for those with high IQ on [the] one hand and the backward on the other. ...We give them different work; same level for those with high IQ, Book 1 for those with low IQ.

There was some acknowledgement within the LGEA and school management that teachers were in need of more professional support both in terms of subject knowledge and pedagogy, to help improve teaching. One senior member of staff recalled the case of a teacher teaching fractions but at the end of the lesson neither the teacher nor the pupils could identify the numerator or denominator. One LGEA official acknowledged that this was a more general problem across the LGEA: "Some teachers now are not knowledgeable in subject matter; some can't construct simple sentences", adding also that if teachers made classes livelier, it would encourage more children to come to school. One senior member of staff ascribed the problem to initial teacher education, which emphasises a specialist curriculum that is incompatible with the generalist approach necessary for primary school teaching. They also thought that teachers' lumping together of a lot of concepts for pupils to learn at the same time hampered pupil learning. As a result, Metropolis Primary School organised in-house training for staff on new concepts and pedagogy, conducted by teachers who had had further training,

Teaching in English was identified by school staff as a major barrier to pupil learning. Four of the lessons were conducted almost exclusively in English although levels of understanding by pupils varied. The three teachers interviewed said they all used Hausa sometimes, one explaining that "teaching in English is not easy. I sometimes use Hausa." Another teacher explained: "If I keep on using English they don't understand." In one lesson, pupils tried to reply in Hausa but were threatened with punishment by the teacher despite the fact that the teacher openly admitted that pupils were quiet in class precisely because they had to speak in English: "English is making you people close your mouth". All the pupils wanted to learn wholly in English but school management and several of the teachers highlighted the fact that teaching in English impeded pupil learning. As one teacher explained: "Pupils like English but they don't have the capacity; they try to speak it" and their lack of proficiency causes them to fail: "Pupils fail exams because they can't express themselves in English." This was borne out by the pupils themselves in the research interviews: they all expressed the desire to learn wholly in English yet struggled to speak or understand English in the interview. Some were aware, however, that they needed to improve their reading skills in English. One of the school managers also pointed out that the

school's efforts to promote mother-tongue education in the first three years were inhibited by the fact that many of the teachers were non-Hausa speakers.

In the observed lessons relations between teachers and pupils seemed good with pupils interacting fairly freely. One teacher thought good interaction with pupils was an important feature of being a good teacher and that "being with children [as a teacher] was like an extension of motherly responsibility." All pupil groups interviewed said they had good teachers and that was what they most liked about school, especially teachers that explained concepts well and paid attention to pupil differences. Although all pupils thought teachers treated all pupils the same, some identified gender differences, describing male teachers as "harsh" and "lazy" and "more strict". In contrast one group of male pupils described female teachers as "tender." School management thought that in general female and male teachers taught in the same way and that female and male pupils responded to both in the same way. However, teacher "performance", or competence, was said to depend on a range of factors such as their mood, availability and use of teaching materials etc.

Gender differences (in terms of pupil participation) were more readily acknowledged by pupils than teachers. Pupils in general perceived gender differences along gender lines. Boys thought boys concentrated and participated more; conversely girls generally thought girls concentrated and participated more in class though one girl insisted that "girls sometimes play a lot", which echoed the view of one teacher. Boys said girls were more focused on selling things in class – witnessed in several observations – and made noise whereas girls said boys were stubborn, lazy, played around with balls, did not listen in class and were more often absent. However, when one teacher left the class to fetch some textbooks on one occasion both girls and boys were seen messing about.

Views among teachers were mixed: three teachers said girls participated more, one specifying Christian girls. Another, in contrast, identified Muslim girls as the group that participated the least due to "Muslim culture", believing they lacked exposure to verbal interaction because they are more focused on marriage:

You know more Muslim girls, because of their culture even if they know [a] little, they don't want to talk; they don't want to contribute. They know better of marriage than this education we are talking about. I talked to some yesterday, one of them, Aisha, told me that she is no more interested in schooling. I said if you are not interested, go to the backside of the class and lie down; she went and lied down. When I asked them they confirmed that they are only preparing for marriage. That spirit of marriage is in them; I don't know why. (female teacher)

Two teachers thought that Christian pupils participated more in class: one said Christian boys participated more, the other said Christian girls did. Another teacher, in contrast, thought that boys participated more because girls played around and talked more though an opposing view was that some boys were less interested in schooling because they had their mind on trade. From classroom observations it was difficult to gauge whether there were any noticeable differences in participation between girls and boys given the limited time and low levels of oral participation witnessed in class; in one class noticeably more boys participated and in another two girls participated a lot. The head teacher thought that overage pupils participated less in class because younger ones laughed at them and one teacher reported difficulties with an overage pupil: "The one with 21 years can not read and write and I don't know what to do."

Pupil performance

School and community respondents considered Metropolis to be a very good school though pupil performance was said to be one of the main concerns of the newly formed SBMC. Respondents disagreed, however, as to whether girls and boys performed equally well in tests

and differed in the reasons for their opinions. No data were produced to confirm any of these views.

The school managers interviewed thought boys performed better than girls, one explaining that it was because girls' education was seen to end in the kitchen although a colleague declared that "the belief that women's education ends in the kitchen is no longer true." In particular the school manager thought Muslim boys performed better than girls because "they will take care of the home while girls think they will be forced to marry early". Two teachers thought boys performed better in tests, one specifying Christian boys, whereas one thought they performed equally and another said girls did better. Muslim girls were identified by two teachers as being likely to under perform. Three underage Muslim girls were identified as not performing well in one class.

Pupils also disagreed on whether girls or boys tended to do better in tests. Although boys were adamant that school helped both girls and boys and that job opportunities were open to both, one group thought boys performed better in class because girls were more focused on marriage; the other group thought girls did because boys did not read at home. In contrast both girls' groups generally thought girls performed better because boys did not listen in class, were more often absent and therefore missed tests. Parents also thought girls did better because boys played a lot and were truants. The school supervisor also noted that girls were collecting more prizes than boys these days. Since the school performance data were unreliable it was difficult to comment further.

Discipline

Teachers all managed to maintain discipline in the observed lessons though one turned a blind eye to two latecomers, a girl and a boy, and pupils messing about. Most pupils interviewed said they preferred teachers that were "not harsh and do not beat children"; one boy said that the threat of being beaten made him silent in class: "If you make noise in the class, they will beat you, but if you keep quiet, nobody will touch you. So I always keep quiet." As one female pupil explained: "Teachers should take good care of pupils."

As mentioned in the earlier section on *School management of pupils*, forcing latecomers to kneel down was a common punishment in the school. In one class two boys came late and were made to kneel on the floor for the rest of the lesson. One automatically stretched his arms out without being asked. That particular teacher carried a cane the whole time though never used it, preferring to castigate using eye contact and verbal reprimands. Another teacher said she specifically banned prefects from carrying a cane in her class: "I have my own rule that any boy should not fight girls and even prefects should not hold [a] cane in my class." One other teacher had a female student teacher in her class who monitored class behaviour and at one stage hit a boy on the head with an exercise book though she also helped mark a pupil's book.

Pupil-pupil relations

Teachers generally thought that pupils got on well in class though several qualified that by saying that interaction was often along gender lines for religious reasons. Classroom observations also showed interaction primarily within gender-groups; this was even true for the girls and boys who shared benches. A couple of teachers thought that pupils did not interact very easily together "due to cultural and religious difference". I had to force pupils to interact and they are used to it now." Older Muslim girls were said by two teachers not to interact easily with boys "because of their religious beliefs".

Three out of the four pupil groups said that girls and boys did not get on well. Girls complained that boys in general bullied girls, physically and verbally (see section on *Pupil-pupil relations* in

General school issues above) although one group of female pupils said that overage boys and girls both bullied because they were often jealous of younger girls performing well:

Some are jealous of you because you are very hardworking than them, so they try to beat, curse and disturb you. Mostly the senior boys and girls are the ones doing this to the younger girls.

Idan kana rubutu sai a naushe ka ko a muskuleka ta kasan benchi, wani sai ya shafa rob a hannu sai ya shafa maka a ido. [When you are writing, some pupils will punch you, squeeze you from under the bench; some will put 'robb' (a sneezing substance) in their hand and then rub it into your eyes] (male pupil)

One group of boys also complained that (some) "girls steal answers" though both girls and boys were seen "giraffing" (copying answers from other pupils) in class. These latter comments perhaps suggest an overly competitive classroom environment.

According to the head teacher, teachers tell overage boys not to bully younger ones, but he also noted that younger boys laughed at their overage peers, who, as mentioned earlier (see section on *Pupil-pupil relations* in the section on *General school issues*), did not participate in class for fear of ridicule. The much older pupil interviewed said that he personally is not laughed at, perhaps because, by his own admission, he does very well in class. No blatant bullying was observed in classes. Otherwise, all four pupil groups complained that pupils making noise, playing around or fighting in class made it difficult for pupils to learn though it was not clear whether the teacher was in class on such occasions.

AID2.2 Family and community

Socio-economic activities

Poverty was cited across all stakeholders as the main reason (alongside preference by some Muslims for religious education) why some pupils in the area had never been to school, dropped out of school or arrived late in the morning as they needed to earn money hawking or trading. As one staff member explained with regard to pupil latecoming:

Some of the children/wards have to do one or two things in the morning maybe sell one or two things for the parents to get some money before they can come to school. Sometimes, the wards will not go out for petty business, but the parents will have to go and look for one thing or the other to give the children to eat before they can allow them to come to school. For many the purchasing power of the parents is so low they hardly get food for their children to eat in the morning.

And as regards pupil absenteeism and/or dropout, he added:

Some of the children would rather join those doing menial jobs like pushing [a] wheelbarrow or collecting garbage on the streets or doing other works to earn money.

Community leaders, teachers and pupils agreed that males, and Muslim Hausa boys in particular, more than females, tended to drop out or miss school, generally for petty trading. Pupils acknowledged that this was not always with parental knowledge. As one teacher explained: "Some pupils leave home dressed for school but don't arrive." One teacher reckoned that some Muslim children missed school once or twice a week to sell water or rice to feed themselves and their families.

Muslim girls were also said to drop out for hawking. In terms of latecoming, one female pupil group mentioned the fact that girls working as maids had to go to market to sell for their employers before coming to school. A teacher similarly remarked: "Igbo maids keep their master's shops and sell pure water." The teacher explained that she tried to persuade one woman to give her maid more time for school: "I rang one woman and advised her: she said, after all, she brought the child to work for her and not to come to school. If I persist she will

withdraw the child from school.” One teacher, however, also pointed out that some Christian boys, such as the head boy, were also late to school because they had to open up their parents’ shop. However, as one senior member of staff pointed out, inevitably Muslim pupils were late, absent and dropped out in greater numbers since the numbers of Christian pupils were “insignificant” in the school.

Doing home chores was also widely recognised as a major reason for latecoming, and sometimes absenteeism, by LGEA, school and community respondents. All pupils admitted to coming late because of home chores although parents maintained that girls did more home chores and boys more often play. LGEA and school respondents generally believed that Muslims were more affected than Christians, in part because many also had to fit in Qur’anic schooling (see below) before attending Metropolis Primary School. One female pupil said: “Some children sleep late at night due to too much work at home” A male pupil said: “We do home chores in the morning before coming to school and some of us sell things in the market.” One teacher too cited the example of a girl in her class: “A girl in my class wakes up at 3.30am, begins home chores and comes to school late.” The result, according to the SS, was that these pupils slept in class and did not do their homework.

Families (including religion, ethnicity and educational choice)

Early marriage or pregnancy was another issue said to have forced a small number of girls to drop out of school, according to some teachers and one of the pupil groups. One teacher, however, mentioned how she had prevented one girl in her class from dropping out: “I counsel one girl in my class who want to leave school for marriage and she finally agreed to stay.” One of the male pupil groups, however, claimed that 17 pupils had dropped out to marry or on account of early marriage, including ten Muslim boys.

School managers also cited distance from school – up to 3km – as a cause of latecoming; some pupils reported taking up to an hour to reach school. School management said that at community gatherings they tried and persuade parents who lived a long way from the school to send their children to more local schools: “for those whose houses are far, we tell them to send their children to nearby schools.”

However, the main reason widely recognised as being the cause of non- or late-enrolment and/or latecoming to school was Qur’anic schooling, which affected some Muslim families and particularly the Hausa-Fulani. The head teacher explained that some Muslim pupils undertook only Qur’anic schooling first, with some boys being sent to other towns before returning to start Primary 1 at age 10–12. Others reportedly attended Qur’anic school in the morning before coming to Metropolis, resulting in late arrival. One LGEA official thought the solution was for Qur’anic schools to operate in the evening whereas one of the teachers called for greater integration of Qur’anic schools.

LGEA officials concurred that many parents were not in favour of “western education”; nor do they see its value especially when parents see so many unemployed people around. One official also considered the “I-don’t-care attitude” of some Muslim parents within the LGEA to be a major cause of absenteeism. As one official said: “We have facilities; we have teachers; we have learning materials, but we wait for pupils to come to school. The parents here don’t have value for western education”. According to the LGEA, enrolment was lowest among Muslim, Hausa-Fulani females, whose parents did not go to school themselves. However, there was reportedly recognition that although a few nomadic cattle-rearing Fulani had never been to school, some were now attending nomadic schools and attitudes generally were changing. They reportedly

often said: “Since I did not go to school, I will make sure that my children go to school.” LGEA officials also said that girls often collected prizes.

Hunger due to poverty was another major impediment to pupils’ punctuality and attendance recognised by LGEA, community and school sources although the potential effect on pupils’ ability to concentrate was not mentioned. The assistant head teacher explained:

Kids are sent out to earn money before school or parents are hunting around for something to eat. Children do not eat enough or at all before coming to school while some are not given money for refreshment.

Community leaders also stressed the need for parents to give pupils food early in the morning to ensure that they stayed in school. But as one LGEA official pointed out: “Most parents are poor; they can’t afford three square meals. We try to give their children quality education. ...Yet you collect money from these poor people and be consuming [take all their money]”.

Sickness or caring for a sick family member were also identified by school and community members as major causes of absenteeism, which may not be unrelated to hunger. Three out of the four pupil groups and one teacher mentioned sickness as a reason for absenteeism. One girl said: “My brother was sick so I missed school.” Both female pupil groups also mentioned pupils being orphaned as a reason for dropout or non-attendance in school. One female pupil also mentioned travel for family reasons as a cause of absenteeism.

Many Muslim boys who were absent from school, however, seemingly got distracted en route and played around, which pupils confirmed, or went to follow “bad friends” to ride bicycles because, as one parent put it: “Boys normally play a lot”. One teacher said: “Some pupils don’t come [to school] even though they dress at home to come to school.” Parents also explained that absenteeism was higher among boys because their activity was less monitored. In contrast, girls’ attendance and performance were better because they were made to stay at home and were paid more attention to their studies.

Mata sun fi maza karatu domin su mata basu damu da wasa kamar maza ba. Mata sukan zauna tare da uwayensu a gida amma maza sai yawo suna buga boll da bin baban bola. [Girls perform better than boys because girls stay at home with their mothers, but boys don’t stay at home; they move around playing football and following people who collect rubbish] (parent)

The community leaders agreed, maintaining that:

... girls are always closer to their mothers; they do home chores and are always monitored so come to school better prepared whereas boys are always playing sports and play around a lot as well as sometimes not going back home after school.

One teacher pointed out that some Muslim boys were absent on Fridays, ostensibly for Friday prayers, even though prayers did not start until 1.30pm. They said “the *mallam* will tell the boys to pack sand rather than coming to school.”

Thus, according to the parents, Muslim Hausa-Fulani fathers and mothers were too busy to ensure that pupils left home early. In the words of one male parent:

Mu iyaye, laifinmu shine; bamu da lokachi mu lura da zuwan yaranmu makaranta. Iyaye mata kuma suna chikin tare tare da aikin gida, baza su sami lokachin yin ma yara magana su tafi da wuri ba” [Our problem as parents is that we are always busy with work to monitor our children going to school early. Mothers are also busy with home chores; they will not have time to ensure children go to school early].

Parents thought ward heads and parents should round up loiterers, who were mainly boys, and ensure they got to school. The assistant head teacher maintained that some children stayed out

of school for up to three days without their father's knowledge and pupils confirmed that some parents were unaware when their child had run away from school. Some teachers held the view that many children had to "fend for themselves" at home.

Also related to the perceived lack of parental supervision in some cases was the fact that some pupils didn't wake up on time because they were watching films until late. Missing school to watch films was another reason for absenteeism, according to some pupils. Both girls and boys also ascribed some absenteeism or dropout to idleness.

In terms of educational choice, the assistant head teacher explained that parents had a lot of choice in the area with three other public primary schools, at least three Islamiyya schools, and several private schools available though claimed that parents still preferred Metropolis School because of its facilities and infrastructure, which the parents interviewed confirmed. One of the community leaders, however, noted that private schools' fees were often unaffordable: "We've private schools but I don't know much about them; besides who can afford their fees. I never asked those who send their children there". The other community leader said: "When I could not secure space for two of my children here, I took them to one primary school; then I removed them that very term. ... I later got space and they are all here".

There was an acknowledgement among community and LGEA respondents that among the Muslim community, attitudes were changing towards sending girls to school. The parents interviewed, who were all Muslim and male, considered school to be more important for girls, as they would pass on their knowledge to future children. As one parent put it: "Educating one girl means educating a nation" whereas the boys will be busy looking after their business". One community leader said: "It's my daughter that comes to school here; my son had refused to come to school. We tried everything possible; he refused, maybe due to peer group influence." He added that even the Hausa-Fulani now send their girls to school. As one of the LGEA officials explained:

They now bring girls to school. They buy textbooks for girls now. If they don't have money, they even come and plead: 'Madam *kuyi mana hakuri*, next time *zamu saya*.' [Madam, please be patient with us, we will buy the textbooks next time when we have money.] They also pursue children who don't want to come to school and they bring them to us.

Pupils' views, however, about the relative importance of schooling were more gendered. Although boys were adamant that school helps both girls and boys and job opportunities are open to both, Muslim boys maintained that Muslim girls preferred hawking to school. One group of boys also thought boys took school more seriously because of the responsibility to take care of the home:

Mu yan maza muna daukar makaranta da muhimmanchi saboda mu zamu rike gidajenmu, da yayanmu. Idan munyi makaranta, Allah ya bamu aiki zamu iya rike gidajenmu, amma idan bamu yi ba, bamu da aikin yi baza mu iya rike gidajenmu ba. [We the boys take school more serious than girls because we are going to be responsible for taking care of our homes and children. If we attend school, and God gives us [a] job, we can take care of our homes, but if we did not attend school, we will not have jobs that will help us take care of our homes].

In contrast, one of the female pupil groups thought the opposite, maintaining that boys preferred playing, watching games or films, or working as mechanics to schooling, which was also a view expressed by one of the teachers. Although one group of girls also admitted: "Some girls just want to help their parents; they don't want school."

Three of the four pupil groups interviewed said they also received help with homework from parents, relatives and siblings although one of the teachers estimated that only about five out of forty pupils received any help with homework and that more would benefit from help with school work at home. One teacher complained that some pupils did not do their homework and this affected their learning. The parents interviewed said that although they assist with homework, fathers were always busy so usually only educated mothers and older siblings helped pupils. Moreover, they thought parents should assist pupils to do the homework themselves, and not allow it to be done by someone else. One of the school managers and parents were of the view that teachers should give more homework.

Overage pupil

One 20-year-old man in Primary 6 was interviewed: I want to be a medical doctor when I finish school. The only problem is that I will be old. I am not ashamed, because I am looking for knowledge. I did not start school early because I attended village school where they don't teach, until the school collapsed. We stayed without going to school for nine years before being enrolled here. I came third in the class last term. Now I want to be first or second. My father tells me to read at home. He checks my books very well for the nine years I was doing petty trading with my father.

Community-school relations

Community-school relations were described as "cordial" by the head teacher and "not good" by one of the teachers interviewed. However, there was recognition on all sides that communication between the school, parents and the community needs to be improved.

School management and teachers recognised parents' contribution to the school in terms of provision of writing materials and uniforms for pupils and, in some cases, textbooks though one of the teachers said that parents say they do not have the money for textbooks and that education is supposed to be free. Nevertheless, two of the teachers thought that more parents should purchase textbooks and another thought they should speak English to their children at home to help improve pupils' English. According to one school respondent, if pupils lack writing materials, teachers are allowed to write to parents requesting that they purchase them, and some parents were said to respond. The parents interviewed confirmed that they are sometimes sent letters via their children.

Parents' main communication with the school has historically been through the PTA, which, according to various sources was "not functioning" and/or was "weak" at the time of the research. It had reportedly functioned well before, meeting twice a term, whereas the SBMC was allegedly in the process of being formed, comprising seven members: five women and two men. One community leader expressed dissatisfaction with the current level of support from the PTA and SBMC, saying that the school now contacts the parents and community directly through community leaders rather than the PTA whenever there is a problem since "the PTA and SBMC do not care about us". Moreover they thought that school-community relations could be improved by continued communication with parents through ward heads:

Hanyan da za a bi, shine malamai ne zasu gaya wa masu anguwa; muna neman abu kaza, kuzo muyi shawara masuanguwa kuma zasu gawa jama'a masu mutunchi to kuzo gashi gashi. [If teachers are looking for something or they want something done in school, the only way is to tell ward heads and the ward heads will eventually inform the people concerned especially people of high regard and integrity]. (male parent)

Idan an bamu zarafi, zamu inganta sadaswa stakanin malamai da iyayaye da kuma masu anguwa. Domin I dan yaro bai zo makaranta ba, yakamata malamai su gaya wa iyaye ta wurin masu anguwanne. Kuma idan malamai suna da wani magana sai su gaya wa masu anguwanne, su kuma sai su gaya wa iyaye [If given the chance, we will improve communication between teachers and parents through

the ward heads. Whenever a child does not come to school, it will be proper for teachers to inform his parents through the ward head. What's more, if teachers have something they want to communicate, let them tell the ward heads and the ward heads will tell the parents.] (male parent)

When the PTA was fully functioning, the PTA chair summoned community meetings twice a term and the last issues of concern reported by the school were the provision of drinking water and giving more homework tasks to pupils. One teacher thought that the PTA needed to tackle pupil welfare issues. According to another staff member, attendance at PTA meetings was usually low and most of the attendees were female and could only convey the message to their husbands. The respondent said that at times, parents sent the children's siblings to attend the PTA meeting. Low attendance at PTA meetings, they maintained, reflected the prevailing attitude of parents "who would rather concentrate on looking for what to eat than attend meetings". The PTA levy was ₦50 per term and according to one LGEA official, PTA levies are no longer an access issue in the area. One staff member said that previously the PTA had also fined "erring parents" who had not paid the fee but had abandoned the fine because they thought it would reflect badly on the LGA. However, parents wanted receipts to be issued for the PTA contributions to account for the money that was given to the PTA fund via the teachers at school.

The SS said that in their area, the schools normally charged an admission fee, but had been directed not to by the Board, who had pointed out that education is supposed to be free.

More generally, the LGEA saw the PTA and SBMC as useful bodies in helping to raise funds for schools. In the words of one official, the PTA could make up for "the shortfall of government". The SBMC was seen a body that dealt directly with schools and not the LGEA.

There were differing views between some school and community members as to the extent of the contact the school had with parents collectively as regards latecoming, absenteeism and dropout. Pupils also reported that parents were called to the school about such issues, especially long-term absenteeism and some parents were "called to order." Four out of five teachers had one or more pupils in class who had missed a whole term, one noting that some pupils only turned up for exams. Whatever the level of communication, the parents interviewed reported coming to school periodically to check on their charges. One parent said he came every two to three weeks to check his kids were in school. The community leader also reported sending to school any loitering boys he came across and two of the teachers also noted that community members brought straying children back into school and sometimes visited the school though another teacher thought the community should do more to find out why pupils were roaming the streets during school hours. The LGEA also said it encouraged parents to ensure that their children reached and stayed in school. However, LGEA and community members agreed that generally the head teacher contacted the community – in this case through the ward head – if they wanted parents and community members to get together about specific issues such as raising money for school renovations.

Various school respondents thought parents could further support their children by giving them rewards for performance; assisting more with homework; putting aside study time at home; supplying extra materials such as colour pencils; and support the teachers in disciplining the children.

Some male pupils thought that in order to increase enrolment, teachers should make home visits to parents. A teacher also thought this would improve school attendance.

In terms of the school responding to community requests, the LGEA and community came up with a couple of examples, including the provision of potable water on the compound although it

was recognised that there were still problems with the borehole. Parents also mentioned the fact that the school encouraged them to make suggestions and comments about the school.

AID2.3 The LGEA/LGA

LGEA/LGA internal relations

Changes that LGEA staff thought would improve LGEA performance included ensuring that appointments for duty posts such as head teacher and SS were based on performance. Similarly, they thought teacher appointments and replacements should be based on experience and qualifications, at least NCE. One teacher was adamant that “the government should respect teachers and stop employing non-teachers to teach.” The view was also expressed that there should be a central examination committee to help centralize examinations within the LGA.

School governance

There was universal approval for the school’s improved infrastructure and facilities and a call by some for similar improvements to be carried out in schools across the LGEA and for more schools of similar quality to be built. It was agreed that these improvements had helped motivate pupils to come to school. However, parents, community leaders and some school staff thought the classrooms and/or the school was “overcrowded” and “overpopulated” and that more buildings were needed. As one parents put it: “*In dambu yayi yawa, baya jin mai*” [Pupils here are too many, so teaching will be difficult]. One teacher also thought that the overcrowding in the school made administration difficult. Parents thought further school improvements could include more sports facilities and decorations in the school. From the perspective of the LGEA, adequate government funding, provision for more running costs and school material would further enhance the quality of education in school.

There was acknowledgement of improved textbook provision by the Board, which was said to be encouraging attendance and learning even though pupils often shared. The head teacher noted that using the same textbooks to teach all pupils centrally was enabling a central examination system to be organised. However, the LGEA, school and community respondents were agreed that there was still a textbook shortage and that books need to be provided for all pupils. Parents thought that more English and Maths textbooks would be a major way of keeping kids in school. One pupil group also requested more books for the school library.

The LGEA and pupils also called on government to provide free uniforms. As one LGEA official put it: “Even this uniform, let every pupil be given the uniform free of charge.” Female pupils also wanted transport to school and payment of PTA levies.

Teachers said that the SS provided the main contact with the LGEA, who checked their school records, lesson notes and, as one teacher put it: “corrects our mistakes”. The ES also stated that the LGEA’s main support to schools was financial: “My office helps schools with money. We undertake school renovations. We buy and distribute chalks, school register etc”. SBMCs were said to deal with schools directly and not the LGEA office.

When asked what they most disliked about their job, teachers were unanimous in their dissatisfaction with low salaries and late salary payments and increments. As one teacher put it: “Government underrates teachers by not paying their entitlements and in time.” Another teacher said they disliked “the government relegation of teachers to the background as if we are not important”. Parents, school management and community leaders all supported teachers in this, recognising that teacher morale was crucial to educational quality, and, as parents pointed out, would help keep children in school. The head teacher thought “teachers must be motivated in term of timely promotions and yearly increments” and one of the community leaders

considered increasing teachers' salaries to be the most important change that would improve primary schooling: "I will add salaries to teachers; they will teach well." Parents also thought the school needed more teachers, including subject specialists.

School support

School managers noted that teachers had been sent on workshops organised by the LGEA and designed to increase teacher motivation, but thought that head teachers also needed administrative training and provision of a head teacher's allowance.

The plan to managed examinations centrally was thought to be a way of enhancing pupil outcomes, which the LGEA said were improving.

LGEA-community relations

LGEA officials and school management said they regularly conducted community mobilisation within Muslim communities and sensitisation activities, including house-to-house visits. The house-to-house enrolment drive to encourage more girls into school was deemed very successful. The LGEA thought that some Muslim parents took advice as regards sending their children to school but some did not. The head teacher said he and the ES "meet regularly to encourage parents to send pupils to school" and the LGEA suggested using PTA and SBMCs and educational dramas as well as community meetings. "We need to organise advocacy campaigns to sensitise parents on the benefits of education vis-a-vis Qur'anic school," the ES said. The ES also said that he attended meetings or was represented at PTA meetings but also saw it as part of the head teacher's job to call parents to meetings from time to time, "to enlighten them on the benefits of education". Both school management and LGEA officials were aware of the need for more interaction and engagement with communities.

Community members reported some contact with the LGEA. The parents interviewed vaguely recollected contact with the LGEA as regards PTA levies but could not really remember any details. One of the community leaders recounted being approached by the SS about parents dumping in the school compound:

The SS consulted me when the school fence got broken and people dump refuse there. The SS threatened to report the issue to law enforcement agencies. I intervened and talked to the people and they responded.

With regards to the LGEA dealing with community concerns, the SS also said that parents sometimes complained about issues, which they reportedly resolved without going higher to the ES. The LGEA, however, was concerned that the community sometimes bypassed the LGEA and went directly to the Board. As one teacher put it: "The school is too close to the seat of authority".

AID3. EDUCATIONAL ACCESS, QUALITY AND OUTCOMES – A SUMMARY

AID3.1 Infrastructure and security

- There was widespread appreciation of the school's new buildings and improved facilities, which were said to be encouraging more pupils to come to school.
- There was a call for similar quality schools to be built throughout the LGEA.
- Some community and staff members were still concerned about overcrowded classrooms, making teaching difficult, and mention was also made of too many pupils being in the school, making administration difficult.

- There was also widespread satisfaction with the recent provision of a water source in the school though with intermittent power supply the borehole didn't always work. When the water wasn't flowing, pupils left school to get water and some boys did not return.
- Older, bigger boys were seen to dominate the water supply.
- Four toilet blocks (not gender segregated) were in fair condition on research visits but were underused (boys were seen urinating at the side) and were a source of concern to some pupils and community leaders, who thought better toilet facilities would help increase enrolment.
- There was noticeably improved security in the school after a change in leadership midway through the research when the compound wall was repaired and side entrances closed. The main gate had security guards.
- Parents and community members appreciated improvements in security but thought more could be done to prevent pupils leaving school during school hours.
- Vendors were only allowed into the compound during break.
- Pupils appreciated the fact that their school was generally neat and clean.

AID3.2 Teacher management

- It was commonly agreed that "teachers are trying" but that teacher morale was low, which had a major negative impact on school quality.
- Teachers were unanimous in their dissatisfaction with poor salaries, delays in payments, promotions and increments.
- LGEA and community members were very sympathetic to teachers' complaints, and considered government's need to address the issues as fundamental to improving school quality.
- But there was also widespread recognition that teacher absenteeism and latecoming constituted a major obstacle to pupil learning and encouraged pupils to drop out of school.
- Some respondents thought some female teachers in particular struggled with attendance and lesson preparation on account of household chores.
- On research visits, however, few teachers were seen hanging round the compound not in class.
- LGEA and senior school staff reportedly counselled teachers about absenteeism, referring them to the LGEA only if counselling failed.
- The school had two advisory committees – one "academic", the other "social" – to which teachers could be referred.
- Excessive corporal punishment was deemed to be the second main problem of teacher indiscipline across the LGEA, affecting some male teachers, in particular.
- Teacher duties were said to be allocated "on merit" though predictably the health teacher was female, the labour teacher male. There were separate discipline teachers for girls and for boys.
- School managers thought more administrative training was needed for head teachers in addition to a head teacher's allowance.
- Teachers confirmed regular contact and supervision of work by the school supervisor but one teacher thought "good, regular supervision" would improve their teaching.
- Parents thought more teachers were needed in the school, including subject specialists.

3.3 Pupil management and pupil relations

- The main pupil disciplinary issues in the school were identified as latecoming, and, to a lesser extent, attendance.
- Poor attendance of boys in particular was considered to be due in part to their being less closely supervised.

- Lesson observations suggested girls were absent from class more often than boys, if enrolment statistics are correct.
- Although very little loitering by either staff or pupils was seen on research visits, parents and community members in particular wanted closer supervision of pupils.
- There were reports of some girls and boys dropping out of school for unspecified reasons, e.g. because they “refuse to go to school” or “do not like school”.
- Contradictory statements were made about the status of corporal punishment both within the LGEA and within Metropolis though the consensus within the school seemed to be that only the discipline teachers could cane, though teachers disagreed with the policy.
- Corporal punishment was gendered: girls were reportedly caned (usually more lightly) on the back of the legs or hand whereas boys were beaten on the buttocks or back. Punishments were supposed to be recorded in the book. But often weren’t. (Some) male teachers were said to beat harder, using a variety of implements.
- Pupils said other teachers, prefects and monitors also practised corporal punishment, especially to punish bullying or fighting.
- Pupils’ views on the practice were mixed though some reported being put off studying and participating in class after being beaten; most pupils preferred teachers that don’t beat.
- Labour was the preferred punishment, e.g. sweeping the compound, picking up litter and cleaning the toilets. Making pupils kneel down and do frog-jumps was also popular though counselling and verbal rebukes were also mentioned.
- Prefects were selected by committee based on academic performance, neatness and punctuality though size was also considered and “feminine and masculine duties” assigned.
- Some pupils complained about prefects beating too much and missing class.
- At break pupils generally socialized in gender-segregated age-related groups.
- Very little fighting or bullying was observed but female and male pupils complained about bullying, fighting and “rough play”, singling out older, overage boys and girls in particular but agreeing that in general (some) boys tend to bully girls.
- Teachers, and sometimes prefects or monitors were said to intervene and parents are sometimes called.
- Most teachers reported that one or more pupils had missed a whole term. Pupils said those who missed a term were often ridiculed and teased/bullied by peers though some tried to counsel them.

AID3.4 Teaching and learning

- All pupils said they had some “good teachers”, which is what they most liked about the school.
- There were sufficient, new classrooms with clear boards and adequate seating, though a number of pupils appeared to be absent.
- Repeaters were apparently limited to five per class though it was suggested that more should be allowed to repeat to avoid dropout or transfer to other schools.
- The school had formerly held special classes for “backward pupils” – an idea that was about to be taken up again with the new management.
- There was appreciation that the Board had improved textbook provision but LGEA, school and community respondents agreed that more textbooks were needed and would help improve attendance and learning.
- Use of the same textbooks in schools was said to facilitate a central exam across the LGEA.

- Pupils sat in gender-segregated groups in three lessons and more mixed seating in two (which one teacher thought meant less noise) though little cross-gender interaction was observed.
- Teacher talk dominated in all lessons, interspersed in some with choral repetition and some individual questioning, which made limited cognitive demands of pupils. Pupils were sometimes called to the board to solve problems and pupils observed copying from the board in some lessons, with the teacher monitoring.
- Most pupils had writing materials but some had to borrow; letters were sometimes sent to parents requesting them to purchase materials.
- Given the large classes, very few pupils got to participate individually, but both girls and boys answered questions.
- There was some acknowledgement within the LGEA and school management that teachers needed more professional support in both pedagogy and subject matter, and that livelier lessons would improve attendance.
- In-house training was said to have been organised for teachers as well as LGEA workshops, though neither was mentioned by the teachers themselves.
- Learning in English caused major learning difficulties for pupils, prompting some teachers to switch to Hausa, though one threatened pupils if they answered in Hausa.
- Implementing the mother-tongue policy, however, was said to be tricky in the school given the number of teachers who did not speak Hausa.
- Most pupils wanted to learn wholly in English yet struggled to understand English both in class and in interviews.
- Pupil and teacher views varied as to whether girls or boys participated or performed better in class though there was some agreement that overage pupils participate less in class because they were teased if they made mistakes and that Muslim girls, and underage Muslim girls in particular, often participated less and underperformed.
- Gender or religious stereotypes were invoked by pupils and teachers to explain their views.
- Teacher–pupil relations were generally observed to be positive and teachers were supportive, though one teacher carried a cane.
- Both boys and girls were observed messing about in class both when the teacher was absent and present though most teachers maintained discipline; all pupil groups complained that pupils messing around or fighting in class impeded learning.
- Teachers thought pupils generally got on well; pupil groups did not, with girls in particular complaining about boys’ verbal and physical bullying though some girls were also said to bully.

AID3.5 Socio-economic and family issues

- Across respondents, poverty and preference for Islamic education were the main reasons given for non-enrolment, latecoming, absenteeism and dropout.
- One senior member of staff said teaching often didn’t start until the second or third lesson because of pupil latecoming.
- Hausa boys in particular were said to be late, absent or drop out of school for petty trading sometimes without parental knowledge and/or consent.
- Muslim girls who hawked goods and other girls who were household maids often had work to do before school.
- Home chores were widely identified as a major cause of latecoming, absenteeism and even fatigue in class for girls and boys though girls were said to have more work.
- Some pupils living far from school arrived late though school management tried to persuade them to go to a nearer school.

- Early marriage or pregnancy was mentioned as a cause of dropout for a small number of girls.
- Attendance at Qur’anic schools was universally blamed for latecoming among Muslim girls and boys and overage enrolment was common for boys who have been sent away for a Tsangaya education before starting conventional school. Some 20-year-olds were in class.
- Some Muslim parents were said to dislike “western education” and/or not appreciate its value given the unemployment situation of those who have completed schooling.
- Attitudes were said to be changing, however, especially as regards the value of girls’ education, even among nomads.
- School and community respondents identified poverty and hunger as having a major impact on punctuality, attendance and pupil learning in this and other schools in the LGEA.
- Three out of four pupil groups said they occasionally missed the odd day through sickness and/or caring for sick family members.
- Pupil lateness and truancy, (e.g. going to watch films, ride bicycles), particularly by boys, was often blamed on lack of parental supervision though some pupils were said to be without parental support.
- Both Christian and Muslim pupils said they sometimes got help from siblings in doing homework and some pupils said they also had help from parents, mothers in particular.
- Most respondents thought school was equally important for girls and boys and considered community attitudes to be changing as regards girls’ education; parents (all Muslim, male) thought girls’ education to be more important as they would pass on knowledge to future children.
- There was a lot of school choice in the area but LGEA and community respondents said Metropolis was popular because of its improved infrastructure.

AID3.6 School–community relations (including LGEA involvement)

- There were mixed views on the state of school–community relations but all were agreed that communication between the school, community and parents could be improved.
- There had been successful contact between the LGEA and communities, especially in terms of community mobilization to increase pupil enrolment.
- LGEA officials recognised the need for further involvement with communities, who sometimes bypassed the LGEA and took concerns directly to the Board.
- The SBMC was in the process of being formed but the PTA was said not to be functioning, with low, mainly female attendance at meetings; sometimes parents’ siblings attended in their place.
- The school therefore contacted parents directly through community leaders.
- The LGEA considered the PTA and SBMCs to be a useful means of raising funds for school.
- The school recognised that parents supported the school through provision of writing materials and uniform but some respondents thought parents should do more (e.g. buy textbooks, give rewards to pupils, and support teachers in disciplining pupils).
- Parents and community members recognized that the school had responded to requests such as the provision of potable water and thought it was open to suggestions and comments.
- It was said that LGEA performance would improve if LGEA and school appointments were made based purely on qualifications, experience and performance.

APPENDIX IE

KILFI PRIMARY SCHOOL CASE STUDY REPORT

AIE1. CONTEXT AND QUANTITATIVE DATA

This is the case study report for Kilfi Primary School in the context of the relevant LGEA and the school's local community. It is an urban school located in the Central Senatorial Zone of the state.

Respondents

A mixture of formal group and individual interviews were held with 17 adults and 35 children, as indicated in Table AIE1.1. Same-gender (but of mixed religion) group interviews were held with pupils (three female, three male), and group interviews were also held with SBMC members, PTA committee members and parents. Other respondents were interviewed individually. Over four times more Muslim than Christian interviewees were accessed, which reflects the religious balance of the school's pupil intake. In addition, only two adult female respondents were interviewed.

Table AIE1.1 Kilfi Primary School case study respondents

Participant group	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	TOTAL
School – staff (head teacher, teachers)	0	4	3	1	4
School – pupils	19	16	30	5	35
Community (parents, PTA, SBMC, community leader)	2	9	8	3	11
LGEA (including ES,SS)	0	2	2	0	2
TOTAL	21	31	43	9	45

Additionally, informal interactions were held with: a 10-year-old out-of-school boy; two women in two separate households, both with children of school-going age whom they could not afford to send to school; a former teacher; a group of young men who had left school (either primary or secondary); and a group of JSS students. Six classroom observations were conducted.

AIE1.1 The LGA (LGEA)

Socio-demographic context

The LGA lies in the Central Senatorial Zone and comprises a large, predominantly rural area with a population of around 200,000, according to the most recent census. The LGEA comprises both flat and hilly terrain. The main agricultural activities are farming and fishing with rice a major cash crop. The population is mainly Muslim with the Hausa-Fulani the main ethnic group, including a significant population of nomadic pastoralists, according to LGEA officials. There are also substantial numbers of Vere, Bata and Laka.

Local educational context

See main report, Chapter 4.

AIE1.2. The school community

Kilfi Primary School is located on the edge of a major urban area in a predominantly Muslim residential area surrounded by a mixture of very wealthy and very poor housing. Most parents are said to be farmers, who, according to the school, require extra labour in November and December. The major ethnic group in the locality is the Hausa-Fulani, including nomadic pastoralists but there are also Vere and Bata, among other ethnic groups. Thus, Fulfulde and Hausa are the most widely spoken community languages. Pupils, parents and PTA members interviewed also mentioned communicating in the following languages at home: Yungur, Bare, Mopa, Kanuri, Yandang, Chamba, Vere, Bwatiye, Igbo, Higgi and Bata. As Kilfi is an old and historically important school, it was said that many parents wish to send their children here although pupil enrolments have been decreasing. Pupils interviewed lived within a two to forty-minute walk from the school.

AIE1.3 The school

School description

Basic information

Kilfi Primary School lies off the main road in the residential area of a large urban centre. It has an intake of over 1,000 pupils. Female pupils currently account for just over half the enrolments (51.1%) whereas males account for just under half (48.9%). In terms of the religious composition, four times more Muslim pupils than Christian pupils are enrolled in the school.

Kilfi Primary School shares a fenced compound with a pre-school. The buildings are new and in excellent condition. There are 28 new and well furnished classrooms and well furnished offices for the head teacher and two assistant heads spread over several buildings. The staff room is also well provided with desks and comfortable chairs. The school also has a well-stocked library and computer room. The onsite pre-school has play facilities, including slides and swings. There are three toilet blocks of pit latrines, one for staff use, one supposedly abandoned though with signs of continued use, and one clean block of eight for pupil use, though lacking in privacy (see Section 2.1. on *School buildings and facilities*). The compound was generally clean, tidy and secure, though it was possible to climb over the compound wall at the back; it offered limited shade by the main school buildings and under the classroom veranda or porch. The school has a potable water supply and electricity for both lights and fans.

The staff

The head teacher is male and Muslim, and has been running the school for a number of years. Both assistant heads are also male and Muslim. There are 54 other teaching staff members. The distribution of the teachers (including the head teacher) by qualification and gender is shown in Table AIE1.2 below. There are more male teachers (31; 55.4%) than female teachers (26; 45.6%) and almost two thirds of the teaching force are qualified teachers (65%); a slightly higher proportion of male teachers are qualified than female teachers (67.7% to 61.5%) and there is only one degree holder. Seven female and eight male non-teaching staff are also employed by the school.

Table AIE1.2: Teachers, including head teacher, by qualification and gender

	Qualifications	Female	Male	TOTAL
Qualified	Degree	0	1	1 (1.8%)
	NCE	16	20	36 (63.2%)
Unqualified	TC II	1	5	6 (10.6%)
	Other	9	5	14 (24.6%)
TOTAL		26 (45.6%)	31 (55.4%)	57

Statistics on educational access and pupil outcomes

Pupil enrolment

Over the last four years, enrolments have decreased steadily each year, reduced by 27.8% from 1405 in 2007–8 to 1014 in 2010–11, as illustrated in Table AIE1.3. Over the four-year period the gender profile has altered too as the proportion of female pupils has increased each year, from 44.5% in 2007–8 to 51.1% in 2010–11. Conversely, the proportion of male pupils has steadily decreased, from 55.5% in 2007–8 to 48.9% in 2010–11. The intake has remained predominantly Muslim; four times as many Muslim pupils as Christians have registered each year, consistently comprising around 82% of the intake, whereas Christian pupil participation has remained around 18%. However, in absolute terms, the numbers of females, males, Muslims and Christians have steadily declined each year over the four-year period.

Table AIE1.3 Kilfi Primary School enrolments by gender and religion 2007–8 to 2010–11

Year	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	TOTAL
2007–8	625 (44.5%)	780 (55.5%)	1149 (81.8%)	256 (18.2%)	1405
2008–9	613 (46.3%)	710 (53.7%)	1076 (81.3%)	247 (18.7%)	1323
2009–10	551 (48.4%)	587 (51.6%)	941 (82.7%)	197 (17.3%)	1138
2010–11	518 (51.1%)	496 (48.9%)	827 (81.6%)	187 (18.4%)	1014

When considering enrolment figures by grade (see Tables AIE1.4 and AIE1.5) for the period in question, there are no clear patterns. However, there are some strange drops and/or hikes in numbers year on year too that cast doubt on the reliability of some of the figures and/or point to children leaving school but not being recorded as dropouts, or entering school midway through the school cycle. Even given that data on repeaters are lacking, this ebb and flow of numbers is difficult to explain. For example, a cohort of 190 pupils in Primary 1 in 2007–8 increases to 211 in 2008–9, dropped by 27.5% to 153 in Primary 3 in 2009–10, then surged back up to 194 in Primary 4 in 2010–11. Although 58 pupils from Primary 2 in 2008–9 did not re-register for Primary 3 the following year, dropouts recorded for that year across all grades only totalled nine. Even assuming that all nine dropouts occurred in that grade – which according to the dropout figures provided (see Table AIE1.8 below), they don't – that still leaves 49 pupils unaccounted for.

Table 1.4 Kilfi Primary School enrolment by gender and grade 2007–8 to 2010–11

Level	2007–8			2008–9			2009–10			2010–11		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
P1	91 (47.9%)	99 (52.1%)	190	98 (48.0%)	106 (52.0%)	204	74 (49.3%)	76 (50.7%)	150	77 (51.3%)	73 (48.7%)	150
P2	86 (43.0%)	114 (57.0%)	200	109 (51.7%)	102 (48.3%)	211	82 (50.6%)	80 (49.4%)	162	76 (53.5%)	66 (46.5%)	142
P3	82 (41.6%)	115 (58.4%)	197	105 (48.2%)	113 (51.8%)	218	69 (45.1%)	84 (54.9%)	153	68 (47.6%)	75 (52.4%)	143
P4	124 (44.9%)	152 (55.1%)	276	106 (52.0%)	147 (58.1%)	253	120 (57.1%)	90 (42.9%)	210	100 (51.5%)	94 (48.5%)	194
P5	154 (49.0%)	160 (51.0%)	314	103 (43.3%)	135 (56.7%)	238	102 (46.4%)	118 (53.6%)	220	74 (52.1%)	68 (47.9%)	142
P6	86 (38.1%)	140 (61.9%)	226	92 (46.2%)	107 (53.8%)	199	104 (42.8%)	139 (57.2%)	243	123 (50.6%)	120 (49.4%)	243
TOTAL	625 (44.5%)	780 (55.5%)	1405	613 (46.3%)	710 (53.7%)	1323	551 (48.4%)	587 (51.6%)	1138	518 (51.1%)	496 (48.9%)	1014

Table 1.5 Kilfi Primary School enrolment by religion and grade 2007–8 to 2010–11

Level	2007–8			2008–9			2009–10			2010–11		
	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	Total
P1	165 (86.8%)	25 (13.2%)	190	176 (86.3%)	28 (13.7%)	204	127 (84.7%)	23 (15.3%)	150	123 (82.0%)	27 (18.0%)	150
P2	164 (82.0%)	36 (18.0%)	200	171 (81.0%)	40 (19.0%)	211	142 (87.7%)	20 (12.3%)	162	115 (81.0%)	27 (19.0%)	142
P3	166 (84.3%)	31 (15.7%)	197	176 (80.7%)	42 (19.3%)	218	129 (84.3%)	24 (15.7%)	153	113 (79.6%)	30 (21.0%)	143
P4	224 (81.2%)	52 (18.8%)	276	197 (77.9%)	56 (22.1%)	253	174 (82.9%)	36 (17.1%)	210	160 (82.5%)	34 (17.5%)	19
P5	259 (82.5%)	55 (17.5%)	314	196 (82.4%)	42 (17.6%)	238	170 (77.3%)	50 (22.7%)	220	113 (79.6%)	29 (20.4%)	12
P6	171 (75.7%)	55 (24.3%)	226	160 (80.4%)	39 (19.6%)	199	199 (81.9%)	44 (18.1%)	243	203 (83.5%)	40 (16.5%)	243
TOTAL	1149 (81.8%)	256 (18.2%)	1405	1076 (81.3%)	247 (18.7%)	1323	941 (82.7%)	197 (17.3%)	1138	827 (81.6%)	187 (18.4%)	1014

Overage pupils

Statistics for the number of overage pupils are clearly inaccurate so are not presented here. For example in the 2007–8 analysis (by grade, gender and religion) alone, in nine cases the number of overage pupils exceeded the number of pupils said to be enrolled in those groups.

Pupil attendance

Table AIE1.6 below illustrates the number of pupil days absent per term by gender for the years 2007–8 to 2009–10 and Table AIE1.7 (also below) shows the number of pupil days absent by religion for the same period. The numbers of days absent per year have apparently almost doubled from 91 to 173 in 2009–10, after having dropped slightly to 87 in 2008–9. More absences were recorded for girls than boys in the first two years even though female enrolments were fewer. More absences were recorded for Muslim pupils than for Christian pupils though not in proportion to the much higher Muslim intake. There are no discernible patterns according to terms. Importantly, however, the figures would seem to represent a considerable underestimation. Comparing the numbers of absences with the very high numbers of pupils leads to the improbable conclusion that the vast majority of pupils never miss a day of school. Even taking the highest figure of 173 absences for 2010–11, that equates to an average of 0.2 days absent per pupil during the entire year. The qualitative data suggest otherwise as pupil absenteeism was a major concern of the PTA.

Table 1.6 Kilfi Primary School number of days absent by term and by gender 2007–8 to 2009–10

	Gender	2007–8	2008–9	2009–10	TOTAL
First term	Female	23	13	25	61
	Male	13	14	23	50
Second term	Female	15	12	38	65
	Male	15	11	40	66
Third term	Female	17	21	22	60
	Male	8	16	25	49
Annual totals		91	87	173	

Table AIE1.7 Kilfi Primary School number of days absent by term and by religion 2007–8 to 2009–10

	Religion	2007–8	2008–9	2009–10	TOTAL
First term	Muslim	18	15	24	57
	Christian	18	12	24	54
Second term	Muslim	15	13	43	71
	Christian	15	10	35	60
Third term	Muslim	16	24	25	65
	Christian	9	13	22	44
Annual totals		91	87	173	

Pupil dropout

Dropout rates for the three-year period 2007–8 to 2009–10 increased dramatically, as shown in Table AIE1.8. From only seven (0.5%) in 2007–8 they rose slightly to nine (0.7%) the following year, and 14 (10.1%) the year after. Given the small numbers reported there is little meaningful comparison that can be made between girls and boys, Muslims and Christians. The more important point to make is that the very low dropout figures do not correspond to the steady drop in overall enrolment numbers from 2007–8 to 2010–11 reported above in Tables AIE1.4 and AIE1.5; nor do they correspond with the more dramatic drops in numbers between some grades. Even if figures for pupils who do not reregister the following year are not included in dropout figures, the very low numbers for the first two years do not tally with findings from the qualitative data.

Table AIE1.8 Kilfi Primary School number of dropouts by gender and religion 2007–8 to 2009–10

Year	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	Total dropouts	Overall dropout rate*
2007–8	4	3	4	3	7	0.5%
2008–9	4	5	4	5	9	0.7%
2009–10	7	7	6	8	14	10.1%

*The dropout rate here is the number of dropouts expressed as a percentage of the total pupil enrolment for the year.

Pupil performance

The performance data for the three-year period 2007–8 to 2009–10 set out in Table AIE1.9 indicate a wide spread of marks each year. Over the three-year period the bottom mark increased from 18% to 23% while the top mark increased from 81% to 86%. In each year the top and bottom Primary 6 marks went to Muslim pupils, which is not surprising given the far greater numbers of Muslim pupils in school. The reliability of some of the high marks is called into question, however, given that classroom observations and interviews with teachers and pupils indicated that pupils were unable to understand or communicate in English.

Table 1.9 Kilfi Primary School pupil performance according to gender and religion 2007–8 to 2009–10

Year	Marks	Female		Male		Overall range of marks
		Muslim	Christian	Muslim	Christian	
2007–8	top mark	81	71	77	62	62–81
	bottom mark	18	22	22	36	18–36
2008–9	top mark	80	66	72	62	62–80
	bottom mark	21	36	32	36	21–36
2009–10	top mark	55	70	86	79	55–86
	bottom mark	37	56	23	39	23–39

AIE2. QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

AIE2.1. The school

General school issues

School buildings and facilities

LGEA, school and community respondents all expressed satisfaction with the new and improved school facilities and increased number of classrooms and teachers. Pupils and teachers expressed appreciation of the “large”, “beautiful” and “new” buildings, which make the school “beautiful and attractive” and which teachers thought helped boost attendance and the LGEA thought had helped improve school quality.

The school has its own water source and electricity supply to power both lights and ceiling fans. There are 28 new, clean classrooms (including pre-school rooms) in several buildings, including a two-storey building, and a shady play area with slides and swings for nursery school pupils, and some bare ground and a football pitch. The school also boasts a well-furnished staff room, where some teachers were observed preparing lessons, as well as offices for the head teacher and two assistant head teachers. There is also a well-stocked library and computer room. On one research visit pupils were being taught computing skills, which one pupil said helped them learn, although while being observed neither pupils nor teachers actually touched a computer. Nevertheless some pupils mentioned liking the facilities. In the library, two library assistants were supervising pupils who were studying.

There are several trees providing shade round the main school buildings and the new classrooms also have a shaded veranda/porch but shade is lacking elsewhere in the compound although new trees have been planted.

The water pump is for the exclusive use of the school and was seen being freely used by girls and boys though more often by girls, who often handed over the water for a boy to drink. However, the nearby community was allowed to use the borehole daily between 2 and 4pm although at times during lessons the occasional outsider was seen accessing the water pump. Parents were of the opinion that another borehole was needed for the school.

The three toilet blocks are located some distance from the main school buildings close to the outside wall, where boys were seen climbing into school unobserved. The cleanest block containing three cubicles with doors was reserved for teachers. Another clean block for pupils contains eight cubicles, in two rows of four, facing each other. However, the cubicles have no doors and so lack privacy. The third and older toilet block was said to be abandoned though there

were signs of continued use. One group of female pupils really disliked the fact that some pupils excreted in the school compound and not in the toilets. Researchers observed numerous boys, and the occasional girl, relieving themselves, usually against the wall, even against the outside wall of the toilet. On one occasion a boy was seen urinating in the embers of fire that was burning the school's litter.

There is a football pitch in the compound, which is considered inadequate for the large school population. The nursery school also has two sets of swings and two slides, which a teacher was seen supervising on one occasion. One set of swings was observed being used by boys, the other by girls. Only boys seemed to use the slides. Both girls and boys interviewed thought a sports field would help improve retention and girls also mentioned facilities for music too.

Security

As highlighted above, the school is wholly surrounded by a wall, with a large main gate and two smaller gates, which were both kept locked. According to the community leader, the school had responded to community concerns by employing 24-hour security guards and improving security in the school. However, school management still thought that the three guards were inadequate to protect the improved facilities and the school had made a request to the LG EA for more. The wall at the front of the school is very high and insurmountable; however at one side of the compound, behind the toilets and out of sight of the main school, footholds had been gouged out of the wall to help boys climb over the wall and large stones were to be found both inside and outside the compound to aid the clandestine coming and going. Several male pupils and outsiders were observed climbing the wall on research visits. The SBMC expressed concern about the height of the wall and thought it should be made higher as a matter of priority. While wandering outside the school one time, researchers came across some four boys who had been picking fruit rather than being in class and who were heading for this "back entrance" to get back into school.

Food vendors were said to be allowed into school only during break time and this was adhered to on the initial research visit as a hawker in the compound during lesson time was chased out by the security guard, seemingly after catching sight of a researcher. However, on a later visit, the rules were far more relaxed when some of the female pupils joined the vendors, selling food even during lesson time. All the food vendors seen were female, with some of them school-going age, and they were also seen sitting around outside the main gate.

One pupil praised the fact that the school was not next to a main road so pupils were safe from road accidents.

School routines

Classes usually start at 8am and finish at noon for Primary 1 to 3, and at 12.30 for Primary 4 to 6. Lessons are 35 minutes long and on research visits started and finished promptly. Assembly is usually held three times a week. (Monday, Wednesday and Friday) from 7.30am to 8am. However, on one visit it was cancelled due to cold weather and classes were put back until 9.30am. The main break is from 9.30 to 10am, with a second smaller break at 10.30 to 10.50am.

The classrooms and their immediate area are cleaned on all days by pupils. General school cleaning occurs on Thursdays before class and assembly 7am to 7.30am. Weekly staff briefings are reportedly held on Monday mornings.

School management of staff

Pupils and parents interviewed generally considered the teachers and the teaching to be good in the school and one pupil group highlighted that fact that there was “no fighting with teachers unlike in other schools.” The head teacher also recognised that teachers in the school “are trying” in part, he believed, because they were closely monitored by school management to ensure that they entered class on time when the bell sounded. Observations generally confirmed this although some classes were seen to be without teachers.

Nevertheless, according to some pupils and community sources, insufficient teachers and teacher absenteeism on the part of some staff were serious issues in the school, identified as being one of the main obstacles to pupil learning. One community member said: “about half of teachers live far from the school. Sometimes they don’t come to school; sometimes they come; if we ask them, they complain of sickness, home chores etc.” According to another member: “Some [parents] complain that teachers don’t teach; they stay under trees and send pupils on errands only.” Parents interviewed felt that teachers needed closer monitoring by management and should be disciplined if they did not come to school. Two of the three teachers interviewed also complained about lack of professionalism from some colleagues. One teacher explained: “I want people to tell the truth. Some teachers come to school by 9am and write 7am on the teacher attendance register”. One teacher also felt there was a lack of cooperation among teachers, which they thought could improve through staff meetings.

According to the head teacher, disciplinary procedures regarding teachers’ latecoming or absenteeism were first dealt with at the school level:

First I call the attention of the teacher and speak with him/her verbally ... If the teacher doesn’t change, I speak to a close friend of the teacher to speak to him/her. If that doesn’t work, then I report the teacher to the supervisor.

The head teacher added: “We’ve a disciplinary committee where all staff and students’ disciplinary cases are attended to.” See the Section 2.3 on *School governance* for details of disciplinary procedures at the LGEA level.

Given that the school had a teaching staff of 56 and over 1,000 pupils enrolled, a number of teachers had special responsibilities: alongside the male head and assistant head teachers (one in charge of academic matters, the other in charge of administration), other positions of responsibility held by male teachers at the time included: debating, discipline, games. Positions of responsibility held by female teachers included “senior mistress”.

School management of pupils

Pupil attendance at school varied from “fair” to “impressive”, an estimated 80–90% according to some school and LGEA staff. The head teacher estimated the vast majority were in by 8am, and the rest by 8.30am. The PTA thought that the high attendance of most pupils showed that all pupils valued schooling. However, latecoming was acknowledged to be serious and a major access issue for both female and male pupils, according to school, community and LGEA sources, predominantly due to Qur’anic schooling on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday mornings, and/or home chores, or lack of food for pupils (see Section 2.2. on *Family*). It was thought by one member of staff that more girls tended to be late.

On research visits pupils were generally found to be in class, and not loitering in the compound although absentees may well have already left the compound by then. Even when there was no teacher present, pupils tended to remain in the classrooms. Although the SBMC suggested otherwise, asking for closer monitoring by teachers to keep pupils in school.

School strategies to deal with latecoming included complaining to parents through the PTA, and, according to the head teacher, “at staff meetings we agreed that teachers on their way to school should look out for pupils on the road and make them run to school.” The head teacher also said he drove his motorcycle round the town to check for pupils who were playing on the way to school. Pupils and staff agreed that latecomers were punished. Parents also mentioned bringing their children to school to be caned. “We bring children to the school to the head teacher for the necessary action,” one parent said. “I bring them to the school for punishment” another added.

According to staff there was an unwritten policy to use “verbal corrective disciplining”, which followed directives from the Board. The general punishment for latecoming, according to the school, and backed up by pupils, was that girls were made to pick up litter or sweep the compound and boys were made to weed. Indeed one female pupil was observed arriving late and was made to sweep some of the compound by the duty teacher. Nevertheless, pupils reported (and were seen) being beaten by some teachers and several teachers were seen wandering around school with a cane in their hand. One teacher was adamant that punishment should be lighter for latecomers than for those committing other offences, noting: “Punishment should be given in terms of little work for latecomers”.

Views about the extent to which corporal punishment was practised in the school and the fairness of punishment varied across pupil groups. One group of girls said they valued teachers’ kindness and the fact they did not beat much. Yet several female pupil groups also reported pupils dropping out of school because of being beaten: “We have classmates that left school because they were flogged,” one said. “Some disliked and dropped out of school because of flogging,” added another. One schoolgirl was found lurking at the back of a classroom on one research visit; she said she was scared to go to class in case she was beaten for being without a text book.

All three groups of female pupils defined a good teacher as one who did not flog but “takes care of pupils”. That said, more female pupil groups considered corporal punishment not to be very widespread in the school and the disciplinary practices to be “fair” though perhaps that was because they were not beaten as much as the boys although all pupil groups mentioned being beaten on some occasions for being late, or absent. Generally, girls were said to receive fewer strokes of the cane on the palm of the hand whereas boys received more strokes on the buttocks or the back. Boys were generally more dissatisfied with the punishments for latecoming; two of the three group judged them to be unfair. One boy explained: “Some pupils do not have parents or money. Life is difficult for them.” One group of male pupils identified corporal punishment as something they disliked about the school. As one boy put it: “It’s very painful and annoying to be beaten in school.”

Although all pupil groups thought that male and female teachers punished differently, only one group said that they considered male teachers to be harsher and beat more. Otherwise groups variously mentioned female teachers disciplining by caning on the palm, making pupils do frog jumps or machine riding (maintaining a kneeling posture with arms outstretched as if riding a motorbike) whereas for male teachers pupils variously mentioned flogging, sometimes using a fan belt, making pupils carry stones or kneel down. Some pupils were reportedly sent to the discipline or duty teacher for punishment. Even nursery school pupils were seen being chased into class with a teacher using an instrument of plaited palm fronds.

Although there was no school counsellor, pupils said that in some cases the head and assistant head teachers talked to pupils who insulted teachers, came to school without uniform or writing materials, and who had “personal issues”.

Offences that pupils were disciplined for, aside from latecoming and absenteeism, included stealing, fighting – including “using a razor to cut other pupils” mentioned by one group of male pupils, bullying, not doing homework or class work, jumping the school wall, insulting or refusing to obey teachers. Aside from “rudeness”, which was said to refer to (some) boys, it was not clear from the data whether any of these offences were particularly associated with girls, boys or both. A few cases were recounted of pupils being turned away from school for not wearing uniform, or for their uniform being incomplete.

Pupils agreed that prefects and monitors were selected according to exam performance and consideration of neatness of appearance, sometimes taking into account punctuality and “respectfulness”. One group of boys, however, also considered size to be important. Another group of boys noted: “For monitors we have male pupils as monitors and female pupils as assistants.” Neither prefects nor monitors were seen beating other pupils and prefects were not visibly identifiable within the school.

School duties supervised by prefects are generally gendered. Female pupils cleaned the classrooms and swept the compound every day, which one group declared was unfair:

Female pupil:	We do the sweeping of the classroom.
Researcher:	Is that fair?
Female pupil:	Noo!, it is not fair.
Researcher:	Why?
Female pupil:	Because is only the girls that sweep while the boys play football and this work should be shared between boys and us the girls.
Researcher:	Why is the work not shared?
Female pupil:	The boys refused that they do not sweep at home, that it is the work for girls.

Girls also picked up litter and cleaned the toilets and had to clean the nursery classrooms at break. Boys were said to weed with a hoe, which children brought from home.

Pupil–pupil relations

Pupils were seen playing in gender-segregated groups at break time; (some) boys played football and a couple were seen playing around with the embers of a fire (see above) whereas girls congregated in other areas in groups, mainly chatting. Nursery children played on the slides and swings. Cases of fighting and bullying were frequently witnessed although teachers said it was not as bad as it was before. Whereas it was mainly (some) boys fighting and bullying other boys, and sometimes girls, one girl was seen slapping a much younger boy. Teachers were not seen intervening although both pupils and teachers said that teachers disciplined pupils that bullied. Teachers said they asked about the incident before either giving a warning or sometimes sending them to the head teacher. Alternatively, teachers punished pupils by making them weed the grounds or clean the toilets. Pupils also reported being flogged but one group of boys said that sometimes “teachers call those involved, ask questions, punish the offender and at times [it is] amicably settled.”

Several pupil groups remarked that pupils were generally well behaved and respectful although cases of fighting, bullying, predominantly involving boys were acknowledged. Several pupil groups complained about stealing (mainly by boys) as the thing they most disliked about the school. Indeed the behavior of (some) boys came in for criticism from boys and girls, and older, overage boys in particular, for fighting, bullying, throwing stones, or for “stubbornness” (i.e. refusing to take orders) and running round the compound for no reason. One group of boys complained about “slapping, beating, snatching of things by overage boys. Victims are younger

boys.” Another group said: “Big boys beat and tease the younger ones.” However, one girl was particularly happy to be at this school on account of the lack of witchcraft:

I like this school because there isn't secret society [witchcraft] like in other schools like in [senior secondary school and another primary school]. There was a day people in town were running helter skelter and our teachers sent us back home and when we went back we were told the problem in the schools.

In the classroom

Six formal classroom observations were made in Primary 5 and Primary 6 classes.

Classroom conditions and resources

All the classrooms were bright, new and tidy with two entrances with doors and two chalkboards. Rooms had lights and ceiling fans. The cement floors were smooth and lots of light was admitted through large glass windows. There was sufficient new furniture for pupils to be comfortable (see below). Walls were bare except in one class, which had some wall charts.

One pupil group particularly liked the availability of textbooks in the school and several pupil groups thought that having textbooks in class helped them learn though one group wanted to be able to take books home too. In the six observed lessons, textbook availability varied: in two classes almost all pupils had textbooks whereas in two classes there were some textbooks and in one just two girls shared a book. In the sixth lesson the number was not recorded. Crucially, however, only two teachers were seen using a textbook in class. One pupil group defined a good teacher as one who “is always teaching with a textbook.” The head teacher was adamant of the need to ensure that teachers used instructional materials to improve pupil learning.

Seating arrangements

In the six observed lessons, class sizes ranged from 38 to 50 (13–17 girls; 18–27 boys). There were more girls than boys present in three of the classrooms, which is unsurprising given that slightly more girls were currently enrolled for Primary 5 and 6.

Pupils were generally comfortably seated three to a bench, though occasionally two of four pupils were observed together. Benches were organised in three columns and seating was generally gender-segregated with pupils grouped on gender-specific benches although not in blocks. One class had mixed-gender seating and generally either overage pupils and/or boys sat on the back rows. One class had smaller, possibly underage, pupils at the front.

Although the classrooms were big, so were some class sizes, and parents, along with one of the teachers, thought overcrowding in some classes was a major obstacle to pupil learning.

Pedagogy (including teacher–pupil relations)

The head teacher felt that the “wrong teaching methods” used by some teachers constituted a major obstacle to pupil learning. The assistant head (academic) checked teachers’ lesson notes but the head thought the situation would improve through additional checks by himself, and through further reminders of appropriate teaching methods during meetings, and class visits by school management. At the Monday teachers’ briefing in particular, teachers were reportedly encouraged to re-teach topics that pupils did not understand.

All three teachers enjoyed “imparting knowledge” to pupils, in line with the didactic teaching styles observed in all six lessons and there was acknowledgement by one teacher that teachers should make lessons “more interesting” to improve pupil punctuality and dropout. One female pupil group also thought “good teaching” would encourage retention. Important aspects of

good teaching that were identified by various pupil groups included giving good explanations, repeating information if necessary, speaking audibly, and writing clearly on the board. One pupil group noted that “step by step teaching and [teachers] not jumping topics” would help improve their learning while another group asked for more correction of homework and class assignments. Treating pupils kindly and not flogging were also highlighted as features of a good teacher. In only two of the lessons observed, did some pupils show signs of having learned something during the lesson.

Across the six lessons, teacher talk dominated though it was interspersed with choral repetition and individual questions and answers (see below on pupil participation) to varying degrees, generally demanding simple factual recall. Three teachers preferred individual questioning and two preferred choral questioning and repetition, with one teacher combining both. In the Maths lesson, individual pupils were asked to come to the board to solve problems. In two other lessons individual pupils were called to the board to read aloud from what the teacher had written and in another they copied what the teacher had written in their exercise books.

Teacher–pupil relations were generally said to be good by several pupil groups and one said there was “no fighting with teachers like in other schools.” In four of the six lessons observed teacher–pupil relations appeared positive and in three classes teachers were observed praising pupils for correct answers and/or encouraging other pupils to clap for them. In two classes relations were not good between teachers and pupils; in one case the threat and practice of corporal punishment affected relations (see below); the teacher did not give any indication whether pupil answers were correct or not. In the remaining lesson, the teacher struggled to maintain the interest and discipline of the majority of the class, who clearly could not understand what was being taught, so they focused on a few who could answer the questions. That said, pupils almost all agreed that teachers treated all pupils the same but were divided on whether male and female teachers taught in a similar way.

The language of instruction constituted a major obstacle to teaching and learning. Although in several observations, pupils were able to repeat what was written in English on the board and could answer simple questions in English, there were clearly varying levels of understanding. Teachers believed that pupils wanted to learn wholly in English but were equally well aware that pupils did not understand if they taught in English. As one teacher explained: “Teaching in English is not easy because the pupils do not understand English even though the pupils want to learn [in English].” The same teacher thought that female pupils in particular struggled to learn in English. He also noted that teaching in English slowed down the lesson and wasted time and thought that government should approve the use of local languages for teaching:

To solve this problem of communication maybe government should approve the use of language of the immediate environment to teach. ... These children can’t speak English because they do not have good foundation and this can be solved if only qualified teachers are employed. ... Teaching in English is good but because it is a foreign language to the children, pupils find it difficult, it makes teacher to stay long teaching one topic and it wastes time.

Two of the three teachers said they taught in a mixture of English with a local language, one also using Hausa, the other Ffulde. Although the English lesson observed was wholly conducted in English, all other lessons were given in a mixture of English and Hausa, usually with presentations made in English and then explanations and clarifications made in Hausa.

Contrary to what teachers thought, pupils were unanimous in wanting to learn in a mixture of English and Hausa, as the following statements illustrate:

English and a little Hausa so as to be able to speak fluently. (female pupil)

Mix for better understanding. (male pupil)

Some don't understand English so explanation in Hausa will help us understand the lesson. (male pupil)

Start with English and explain in Hausa (female pupil)

We do not know English well because we speak Hausa more at home and in school. (female pupil)

On the other hand, teachers' command of English and ability to speak and teach in English was considered a valued feature of a good teacher.

There was only limited participation by pupils in the most of the lessons observed, although one class stood out as being much more interactive with pupils also asking questions. Two of the three teachers interviewed thought boys participated more in class; girls were deemed "shy" and lacking in confidence. One teacher explained: "Girls are always shy; they fear pupils will laugh at them whenever they give wrong answers." Notably, one teacher emphasised that all pupils were encouraged to participate. Observations indicated that (a few) girls were selected to give answers or solve problems at the board, more than boys in three of the lessons, and in two lessons both girls and boys were called upon in equal measure. In the remaining lesson, pupil participation was too minimal to be able to comment. One teacher ascribed lack of participation by boys in general to "lack of interest" and their playing around. Pupils' views were more mixed as to whether girls or boys participated more, though no group thought that girls and boys participated equally in class. The notion that boys "play a lot" and female pupils are "very shy" were offered as explanations for gender differences. Girls, too, however, were said by one male pupil group to "play and jest a lot". However, observations indicated that both girls and boys would play around and make noise if given the opportunity, and/or if they were not learning anything in the lesson especially those at the back of the class. Parents thought some girls fell asleep in class because they were tired from household chores.

Another male pupil group thought that overage girls did not participate much because they "do not concentrate in class". In one of the lessons both overage girls and boys at the back were seen messing around, eating and making a lot of noise, which went unchallenged. On the other hand, in another class, overage pupils were clearly ignored by the teacher.

Pupil performance

The head teacher acknowledged that performance of pupils is "poor" but "girls do better; boys are very playful", adding that "at prize-giving days girls take almost all the prizes," which were provided by the PTA. However, in the lower primary classes the head thought boys generally did better. Teachers and pupils generally thought that girls performed better in class because boys played around more and girls "don't play too much even at home". The one teacher who said that a boy usually came top of the class added that girls usually took second and third place. Female pupil groups were sure that girls did better but male pupils differed in their views:

Girls perform better; boys don't care. (three male pupils)

Boys don't concentrate in class and girls cheat a lot. (two male pupils)

Sometimes girls do better and sometimes boys do better (male pupil and PTA member)

Only two girls do very well in our class. (male pupil)

SBMC members also agreed that girls were trying hard and "sometimes girls are doing better" adding that "in fact, people will judge our performance from the performance of our female child in school." One member also commented that "all pupils have [the] potential to attain well". On the other hand, one SBMC member felt that although "a lot of pupils learn here, some pupils have stony hearts; they may not learn [and it] cuts across gender, religion, ethnicity."

In terms of repeaters, teachers thought both girls and boys repeated, though one teacher thought repeaters comprised mainly Muslim pupils though no explanation was offered. One teacher was of the view that “those who don’t attend school [for a term] should repeat”. Teachers variously identified Muslim girls and boys, overage girls and underage pupils as low performers. The ten underage pupils in one class were reportedly supposed to be in lower classes. Dropout was variously considered to be very low or non-existent by LGEA and school staff.

Parents thought some pupils’ home chores affected class performance whereas the community leader highlighted poor attendance due to hawking and trading in particular as affecting boys’ progress and performance (see also Section 2.2. on *Socio-economic activities in Family and community*).

Discipline

Teachers were aware that there was a “no flogging” discipline policy in the school, which they were reminded about in meetings. Two teachers said they agreed with it although one of them also admitted they caned on the hand and buttocks when pupils couldn’t answer questions. The teacher who was against the policy said: “I tell them to stand up and sometimes I flog them.” One teacher observed that whereas male teachers “take action immediately” female teachers often send pupils to the discipline teacher. (See also the earlier section on *School management of pupils*).

In the four of the observed lessons, to varying extents, pupils were making noise, messing around, eating, and/or teasing others. Both girls and boys were involved except in one class, in which girls were predominantly making noise. Teachers ignored the noise and pupils not paying attention, yet noise was mentioned by most pupil groups and one teacher as hindering understanding in class. No monitors were called on to control the class. None of these teachers was observed disciplining any individual. One parent thought that “some pupils play [around] because teachers are not just enough” whereas one member of staff ascribed it to “lack of concentration by pupils”, which they saw as a major obstacle to pupil learning.

In contrast, in one lesson, pupils behaved well with minimal noise perhaps because the lesson was relatively more interactive, the teacher was supportive and encouraging and more pupils appeared to understand. In the remaining class, pupils were visibly too afraid of the teacher to participate in class since pupils who made mistakes were observed being flogged – both girls and boys, though predominantly boys, who returned crying to their seats.

Pupil–pupil relations

Although teachers said they thought pupils generally got on well together in class, pupil views were more mixed. Observations showed interaction to be primarily within gender groups in half the classes observed, such as sharing a textbook, with some cross-gender interaction witnessed in the other classes.

Overage pupils were identified by teachers as sometimes having awkward relations with other pupils. Although one teacher thought that other pupils respected them because of their age, another thought that other pupils often laughed at them, which made them become angry and feel isolated:

I have three overage in my class: two boys and two girls. I believe is because of late enrolment into school. ... When a teacher asks these overage questions and they are not able to answer, other

pupils laugh at them. Sometimes it affects them positively and they try to put in more effort to answer while sometimes it makes them feel sad and they refuse to answer questions.

This may be why overage girls were often said to be absent from school. The head teacher suggested that the situation was worse in some other schools, saying: “I’ve got pupils who dropped out from other schools and come to my school when they want to return to school because they say children in their former school laughed at them.”

Several pupil groups said that girls and boys did not want to sit or interact together for fear of being labelled “husband and wife”. One boy explained: “girls do not want to come close to us because of the husband and wife syndrome”. One teacher also thought girls “do not want to mingle with boys”. Teachers otherwise thought pupils got on fairly well in class though also admitted there was some “slapping and bullying” and both girls and boys talked of “teasing” and being laughed at by other pupils (or girls in the case of one male pupil group), which they said made it difficult for them to learn in class. A female pupil in one group gave the following example:

Boys tease more, when our teacher taught us the topic VVF [vesico-vaginal fistula], the boys always teased us that if we marry early we will contract VVF and wherever they see us they will be laughing at us say look at them draining urine.

In the classroom observations, (some) boys were seen teasing girls and (some) girls were seen teasing other girls. In one observation, a girl was laughed at by some boys for getting the answer wrong and in another observation, a male pupil shouted out to a female pupil: “*Baki iya komai ba*” [You are not intelligent ... You do not know anything.], which visibly made her angry. No action was taken by the teacher in either case.

One teacher suggested that although rare, older boys sometimes bullied younger boys and girls although pupil accounts and researcher observations suggested that bullying was more widespread than the teacher was prepared to acknowledge. One male pupil noted that “boys do not want to be disrespected” by other pupils otherwise they will react.

Pupils reported that peers who had missed a whole term got a mixed reception at school. Some pupils are sympathetic and said they went to the homes of absent friends and tried to encourage them to return to school; others “call and talk with parents” or try to “play with children to try and make them like school”. On the other hand, some pupil groups said that returnees were laughed at, or called names such as “liar” and “fool”. Some pupils, according to one pupil group, shunned the former absentees because they believed most of them cheated in order to pass the tests:

When they leave school they go to hawk, play aimlessly or even beg and because they didn’t come to school for so many days they miss classes and don’t know what we have been taught. So when they come back to school – their parents bring them back most times. So when they come back at times it is almost test or exams, so they will always want to pass and to pass they have to cheat. Because they will cheat and copy from our work we don’t want to be friends with them.

One group of pupils said that in some cases, parents flogged their children/wards at home then brought them to school to be beaten again: “Parents must bring them back, repeat flogging”. A couple of male pupil groups though that absentees or dropouts should be “remanded for rehabilitation” or “punished when they leave school.”

AIE2.2 Family and community

Socio-economic activities

School and community respondents recognised that hawking and petty trading affected the enrolment, attendance, progress and performance of some pupils, particularly boys. According to both pupils and teachers, attendance of some boys was particularly affected on market days, though teachers disagreed as to whether mainly Muslim boys or both Muslim and Christian were involved. One male pupil explained: “Some pupils prefer petty trading and begging because it is easier [than going to school].” The head teacher also confirmed that some boys left to beg in the streets. In contrast, some girls thought it affected girls more than boys. According to pupils, some dropped out of school to trade and hawk of their own volition; others were withdrawn by parents though the reasons behind the actions were not clear from pupil accounts, as the following comments illustrate:

Parents prefer children to go hawking wares. (female pupil)

Some children run away from school to go petty trading. (male pupil)

One teacher also thought some boys and girls had never been to school on account of hawking. PTA members said those that didn’t make transition to JSS tended to begin petty trading.

According to a number of school, community and LGEA sources, a substantial number of Hausa-Fulani, and nomadic Hausa-Fulani in particular, have children that have never been enrolled in formal education (around 25% according to one school source) or that are overage, or have problems with latecoming or attendance. Poverty was identified as being at the root of it as children were needed to help with rearing animals and farming. However, parental attitudes were also cited as contributory factors (see below). Parents thought that latecoming due to farming particularly affected boys while school staff noted that attendance for Hausa-Fulani boys was particularly low in the rainy season on account of farming though the head teacher maintained that the situation had improved after talking to parents directly and via the PTA:

We have 80–90% of my pupils come to school every day, though during rainy season these, our Hausa brothers, prefer to take their children to the farm. Now attendance has improved because I present this issue at PTA meetings even though some parents do not like attending meetings. We also contact the parents of such pupils directly; we also meet with the *mai unguwas* [ward heads] to help us talk to the parents of these pupils.

It is clearly a more general problem across the LGEA, according to LGEA sources, with Hausa-Fulani suffering a higher dropout rate, especially among nomadic farmers in rural schools and particularly in the rainy season. LGEA officials had the following to say:

The problem of dropout affects the migrant Fulani nomads who withdraw their children when they are to move away from that area and the Hausa farmers in the local government especially during farming and harvest seasons.

The ES also noted that schools on afternoon shifts particularly suffered from low attendance during harvest time:

Low attendance is recorded more in the Hausa communities’ schools in the LGEA especially during harvest, so what I do is organise sensitization session for these communities and I always mention named of highly placed officers in the LGA who couldn’t have been there if they weren’t educated and I also tell them that these people are helping their various communities to benefit from government programme and that they can also be represented if they send their children to school and allow these children to finish school.

Most pupil groups and community respondents identified home chores as a major reason for pupils, and girls in particular, arriving late to school. Girls specified having to wash plates, fetch water and cook breakfast prior to coming to school. Parents confirmed this and said that boys

sometimes had to go to the farms as well. A PTA member noted that girls were more engaged with work at home while boys had a lot of time to play:

Girls have specific house chores and they are always with their mothers while the boys fetch water or any other assignment that may be given to them from time to time. Though the girls have more work to do in the house like washing the plates, cooking and general cleaning of the house while the boys after fetching water only if no other assignment is given, has more time to play, busy playing football in particular.

Families (including religion, ethnicity and educational choice)

Family poverty was identified by LGEA, school and community respondents to be the root cause of numerous access issues.

In addition to child labour, poverty also resulted in hunger for some children. Some were late for school, according to some pupil and community respondents, as they had to wait for breakfast because the mother or daughter had not had time to prepare the food on time. One SBMC member pointed out that if children didn't eat, they couldn't learn and therefore their performance was automatically affected though they thought it only applied to a small minority of children:

Some children come late to school because they were given breakfast late some don't even eat before they go to school, so when they come to school they won't be able to concentrate and we have stopped pupils from leaving the school compound during break because they may not come back after break so the gate is always locked during classes and a gateman at the school gate.

More generally across the LGEA, one official observed:

Though government provide free uniforms for pupils but some parents find it difficult to provide writing materials, shoes, exercise books for their children. Especially these our Hausa people with their culture that at the age of seven years the child is on his own and is expected to fend for himself. The child is now forced to look for food because he has to survive therefore has to look for money to get food. Such a child will not be stable in school Even their mothers commercialise the food in the house [they sell food to the children] for the children.

In addition, he said that some husbands had so many wives and children that they couldn't afford to send them all to school.

The inability of some families to provide uniforms, school fees or writing materials as the cause of non-enrolment or dropout arose in several pupil interviews, and the issue of uniforms in particular was a major issue of concern. It also arose in informal conversations with members of the surrounding community. One community member said that parents had made their views known about the cost of materials being a barrier to access but the PTA had responded that school rules demanded that pupils wear uniform. Yet some PTA members were aware that parental inability to pay for uniforms was preventing some pupils from enrolling in school. SBMC members reported checking on absent pupils, saying: "We go to parents to enquire. They always complain that their pupils don't have uniforms, which is why they do not attend". One young boy encountered talked of being refused entry to the school because he did not have shoes although he said he was wearing the rest of the uniform. One woman talked about her oldest daughter reaching primary three and doing well at school but having to give up for the time being because she could not afford the uniform. Two women talked about being unable to afford to send any of their children to school. Another respondent explained: "Two of my children are not in school because I can't afford uniforms for them, but I tried; the remaining six are in school. The uniform cost about ₦1,500 per child." Acknowledging the fact that government had provided uniforms, they noted that it only applied to girls in order to encourage girls' education.

Out-of-school boy

My name is Gambo Umar. I am 10 years old. We are four in my house that are not in school one of them is older than me. We all want to enter school. I am saving money to enrol in school. I fetch water for people and they pay me to enable me to enter school. I have saved five hundred Naira so far. I want to buy uniform, sandals and socks to enable me to enter school. I want government to provide uniform, sandal and socks for me so I can enter school. My mother will buy books for me. But for the head teacher, I don't know what he will do for me, because he said if he gets money he will enrol us in school.

Bereavement, ill-health or caring for a sick relative (in the case of some girls) were also cited as reasons for missing the odd day from school by around half the pupil groups and parents although one teacher thought some pupils lied about being sick as an excuse for absenteeism.

Parents also noted that some pupils (boys and girls, Christian and Muslim) lived more than 30 minutes from school, which caused them to be late. Pupils in one of the pupil groups said it actually took them 40 minutes to reach school.

Negative parental attitudes to what was commonly dubbed “western education” were widely blamed by pupils and community members, including parents themselves, for children either not enrolling or dropping out of school and pupils were adamant that more sensitization of parents was needed to encourage them to enrol or retain their child(ren) in school:

Parents should be encouraged to bring their children to school. (male pupil)

Talk to parents and [get] parents to talk to their children. (female pupil)

Positive motivation [is needed] by parents and teachers. (female pupil)

Parents' attention should be drawn to pay attention to their children['s] attend[ance] and intensify effort. (male pupil).

Sensitization of parents [is needed]. (female pupil)

Some parents show I-don't-care attitude towards western education. (PTA member)

This attitude was considered to be particularly prevalent among some Hausa-Fulani parents, and nomads, in particular, especially as regards girls' education.

In contrast, as mentioned by school, community and LGEA sources, there was a preference among some Muslim parents for Tsangaya or Islamiyya schooling rather than state school education. As the ES explained: “There are some communities that think that western education corrupts their culture and prefer Qur'anic education” One male pupil considered this to apply to nomadic communities in particular: “Some religions that don't believe in western education especially the nomadic who wander about rearing animals and do not enrol their children in school.” One group of male pupils said that some pupils dropped out of schools because “they said western education is unlawful – in Hausa “*boko haram ne*”. Ignorance by some parents, their own lack of formal education or lack of interest or dislike of “western education” were all cited as reasons by some pupil groups for why some parents preferred not to send children to school. One teacher disliked the fact that “pupils are not always ready to learn” because they lacked support from home.

Alternatively, some Muslim pupils attended Tsangaya schooling before public school, which often caused pupils to be late, which, according to the ES, was a widespread problem across the LGEA. All three teachers and half the pupil groups noted that both girls and boys were often late for school on account of Tsangaya schooling, which “makes the pupils have a very tight schedule”.

One teacher thought it should be rescheduled for the evening and one male pupil group also thought morning Islamiyya should be cancelled: “Early morning Islamiyya should be stopped to make us concentrate.” One Christian girl also mentioned occasionally missing school for church functions.

Teachers also felt that the negative attitude of society, and parents in particular, towards teachers prevented teachers from their doing their job well. One teacher complained: “Most parents do not value the teaching job and the teacher, [and] therefore encourage their children to be rude to us.”

Lack of parental supervision was also mentioned in relation to access. Pupils thought that while most parents were aware about their child(ren)’s latecoming, absenteeism or dropout, others were not. When it came to dropout, as one male pupil group explained: “sometimes their families do not agree.” On the other hand, in other cases parents chose to withdraw the child(ren): “Some parents know [about dropout] and some don’t while some of the children it is the parents that take them out of school when their children make complaints to them.”

Parents and SBMC members were of the opinion that lack of proper monitoring by some parents was responsible for some pupils not attending and/or dropping out of school. As one SBMC member put it: “Parents should be more vigilant on monitoring their children.” It was recognised that girls tended to be better supervised by female relatives, while “boys play a lot”.

This gender difference was particularly apparent with regard to truancy and loitering, which were identified by one teacher and the community leader, as causing latecoming, absenteeism and eventual dropout and constituted a major obstacle to pupil learning, particularly among boys. Boys themselves admitted that some boys loitered on the way to and from school, climbing trees and playing around and therefore arrived late. Indeed on one of the research visits, several boys were spotted up a tree picking fruit when they should have been in class. Several male pupil groups also made reference to boys missing school or dropping out just to idle about, sometimes due to peer pressure and “wandering in the bush” [idling around]. One member of staff recounted examples of boys missing school to watch Hausa films or play football, remarking: “If you ask these pupils to tell you the names of the actors in Hausa films and European footballers they will give a long list and even more”.

PTA members remarked: “We follow up pupils to see they come to school early without playing on the road.” The PTA chair said he personally comes to school to check the class attendance register while the head teacher said he goes out on his motorbike to round up pupils playing but wants parents to ensure that pupils leave home and come straight to school.

As for whether schooling is considered more important for some children rather than others, most respondents considered it to be important for everyone:

It will make men respect women and make women independent just as much as it will help the man get a job and take care of his family. (female pupil)

Women take care of home more than men. (SBMC member)

You can see as a woman I brought my daughter for enrolment today. (female parent)

However, there were some dissenting voices: “It is more important for boys because they are the heads of families; they feed the family and help feed their parents,” one male pupil affirmed. One group of female pupils agreed but did not give a reason while another saw a need for “sensitizing parents especially against boys’ preference.” The community leader felt that the general community view favoured boys too, especially in Muslim communities: “Boys are always theirs;

girls are for their husbands ... They prefer boys to go to school because they think girls are very soon getting married.” One male parent backed up this view: “Boys’ education and progress is [for] my own progress [benefit], but girls will soon get married to someone.”

Parents considered early marriage and/or pregnancy to be the cause of dropout for some girls, both Christian and Muslim, though the LGEA thought that the problem that was once “rampant” was less of an issue now because communities were more “enlightened”. However, they said: “There are still a few parents in [the area] that believe girls should marry at 15 years, especially Hausa people.” They said they used the PTA and community elders to talk to them. One male pupil interview group mentioned that one girl had dropped out due to either pregnancy or marriage.

In terms of educational choice in the area, the community leader noted four public schools, three private Islamiyya schools (but no nomadic schools). One or two other pupils reported younger siblings attending other primary schools in the areas because they were nearer home, though this was not the case for the majority of pupils. Nevertheless, PTA members said proximity of public school was an important consideration for parents. So too was educational quality. The SBMC noted that “some [parents] complain that teachers don’t teach; they stay under trees and send pupils on errands only” hence why they chose another school.

According to the community leader, poverty determined where parents sent their children since “private schools are more dedicated in terms of supervision and monitoring”.

Community-school relations

The main channel of communication between the school, parents and the wider community, according to most respondents, was the PTA, to whom a ₦50 termly levy was paid. This applied to Kilfi School and to the LGEA more generally. The LGEA noted that PTAs helped with sanitation, providing toilets, wells, employing security personnel, controlling land encroachment, donating seedlings for fencing schools, providing furniture for the school and rehabilitating classes. As the SS pointed out: “Without the PTA parents can’t check what is happening in the school.” In the case of Kilfi School, the head teacher highlighted PTA assistance in renovating school structures, replacing broken windows and doors and campaigning to increase enrolment. He insisted: “We interact well with the PTA. Without the PTA schools cannot move forward and that is why we must cooperate because that is only way out for teaching and learning.”

Campaigning for increased enrolment was clearly a function of both the PTA and the SBMC across the LGEA, according to LGEA and school sources. Despite campaign efforts, the head teacher felt that enrolment could still be improved: “We are campaigning for parents to bring their kids to school” and one teacher thought “parents should enrol children early to avoid them dropping out.” Another teacher thought the PTA should intensify its activities to improve punctuality, which was another issue of concern for the Kilfi PTA, along with absenteeism. In addition the head teacher, who was secretary of the PTA, said that although he sometimes talked to parents directly he also talked to the *mallams* and ward heads at PTA meetings:

Hmm! You see not all parents come for meetings, so what we did was to get representatives that are respected from each ward to serve as representatives of each ward to attend PTA meeting so that when they go back after the meeting they can help us talk to other parents and encourage them to ensure that children come to school.

The PTA thought their job was to channel communications from the school to parents during PTA meetings (three times a term) and to find out the views of community members. The community leader said he also attended PTA meetings: “As a community leader, I attend PTA meetings; if

there is any problem in school I attend to it and go between school and parents”. All community respondents interviewed thought the PTA represented their views adequately. The main issues discussed at recent meetings included enrolment, latecoming and absenteeism, which some school and community sources felt had improved, and school renovations and security matters. The community leader said that they also worked through the mosques and churches: “We mobilise parents in mosque and churches and they do agree.” The issue of the prohibitive cost of school uniform and school materials affecting enrolment and retention was also a major issue for PTA members and parents – both those interviewed formally and those encountered informally in the immediate vicinity of the school – although according to one community member, the issue had still not been resolved because the PTA was still reportedly insisting that school rules demand that all pupils should wear uniform. As one PTA member asserted: “Government should provide uniforms free.” (See also the section on *School governance* in Section 2.3)

In terms of the school responding to community/PTA requests, the community leader said they now displayed attendance registers as the PTA had requested. Security had also improved in response to the community leader’s request: “When the school had no fence, I suggested the use of local security men and the school accepted and implemented it.” The SBMC also said that the school had responded to parental requests for discipline: “We talked on pupils’ discipline and they responded.”

School and community respondents agreed that there was a lot of contact between teachers and parents, and that teachers checked up on absent pupils. As one parent explained: “Teachers visit us at home to find out why our children are not in school or why they are not enrolled. They are really trying.”

The head teacher said he also went to into community and to the Qur’anic schools to fetch pupils from those schools:

We talk to the *mallams* through the PTA officials so that they can release these children that go for this early morning Qur’anic school but sometimes it is the fault of the children even when they are released on time, instead of them to prepare and run to school, they walk to school and even play on the road. So what I do is after assembly I ride on my motor bike round the community and when I see my pupils playing on the road I send them running to school.

Both PTA and SBMC members also reported following up on absentee pupils.

The LGEA considered the role of the SBMC was to help mobilise the community for school development, and the committee usually met with the SS. Kilfi SBMC was newly formed in 2011. Nevertheless, the head teacher confirmed that “it [had] already procured a generator set and a hand water pump for the school.” SBMC members said they met regularly to discuss how to assist the school in repairs of school properties through personal contributions. They said that most recently they had contributed to roof repairs. They also said they provided prizes for prize-giving and graduation “to encourage learning”, taking into consideration attendance, performance, obedience etc.

The community leader noted that the school also had a local education committee that he interacted with and that members sometimes visited his home.

All school staff agreed that the main way in which families supported their pupils’ learning came through the provision of writing materials, textbooks and school uniform. According to one teacher: “some parents even provide pocket money for their wards to eat breakfast.” Another said some parents visited teachers to check on their charge’s progress. To give further support to children’s learning, school staff thought some families needed to ensure that their children had

enough school supplies, and one teacher thought they should ensure that their children reached school; the third teacher thought parents should check their children's exercise books. According to pupils, some had nobody at home to help with homework; other pupils, parents and SBMC members said older siblings and parents helped, and one group of pupils was adamant: "We do [homework] ourselves." SBMC members thought parents could further encourage children to stay in school by rewarding them when they perform well.

Parents and the community leader said that the PTA levy was the only financial contribute they were asked to make to the school.

As regards wider community involvement in the school, the head teacher said they helped provide security by watching the school: "They put eyes on the school building and furniture, especially those [living] around the school". In addition, some "old boys" were said to have donated some books and one teacher said some community members sent children back to school who were trying to leave early. Other school and community respondents, however, were not very positive. The community leader said: "We have plenty committees and NGOs here, but they do not support school." One SBMC member echoed these sentiments: "*Wanda ra riga ya kubche, baya waiwayawa*" [Those who passed this level don't look back to assist]. A teacher felt the community could provide more security and advice; another wanted better attendance at graduation ceremonies.

More generally across the LGEA, mothers' associations, "old boys" associations and NGOs were identified by LGEA officials as helping contribute money to schools and organizing and sponsoring extra-curricular activities such as games and football competitions. The ES said: "We've made the community to know that the school is theirs."

AIE2.3 The LGEA/LGA

LGEA/LGA internal relations

LGEA officials appreciated that "government is trying" and particularly appreciated government provision of monitoring vehicles, and running costs to enable them to carry out their functions but felt they could do their job better with greater cooperation from some of their colleagues and one officer thought they could do their job better with more cooperation from some head teachers.

School governance

LGEA, school and community respondents were all appreciative of the infrastructural development in the school (especially the computing facilities), which they thought helped improve enrolment and retention. However, more buildings and computers were requested by some community sources, as were more play materials and better sporting facilities. One group of community respondents also thought gender-segregated play facilities would help pupil learning.

Despite recent improvements, provision of materials was still seen as a major access issue. Community respondents across the board were adamant that government should provide more textbooks, and supply free exercise books and uniforms, and, as one interviewee put it: "make school totally free". This, they were convinced, would help increase pupil enrolment and retention (see also Section 2.2, *Community-school relations*)

More qualified teachers were widely requested by community and school respondents, even by teachers themselves, as was closer and better supervision of teachers. Parents suggested that around six qualified teachers were needed in class each day. PTA and SBMC members wanted

more qualified teachers and enforcement of teacher professionalism and better control of teacher transfer:

We need more teachers and teaching materials. Teachers are posted to this school and before they settle down they are posted out again. One thing that worries us most is lack of qualified teachers that are employed. If I were in charge, I will only employ qualified teachers to teach our children.

The SBMC in particular thought that government should provide more teacher accommodation near the school to help improve teacher attendance (see also Section 2.1. on *School management of teachers*) although the LGEA explained that the general policy within the LGEA was to prioritise the employment of “indigenes” (Hausa-Fulani, Bata, Laka and Vere) where possible – though irrespective of gender or religion – and post them to their home town or village. Only where there are insufficient qualified locals “in areas of need” are workers employed from other LGAs.

Teachers in turn complained of “disappointment from government” at teaching conditions, especially the low salaries and delays in payment. They thought better pay and prompt payment would “serve as incentives” and help them do their job better.

The LGEA felt that teacher discipline was not too much of an issue across the LGEA, with the main problems identified being that some teachers (both female and male) did not write lesson notes or use instructional materials. According to the LGEA, the general procedure regarding teacher absenteeism was that the head teacher reported cases of absenteeism and the teacher concerned and the head teacher were invited to the LGEA office and, depending on the outcome, the teacher was disciplined, for example by being given a warning letter of salary deduction. Sometimes the teacher was merely advised, and/or given a verbal warning by the SS at school level. The ES reportedly sometimes called teachers to the office to discipline them for absenteeism. The PTA also wanted more monitoring of teachers to ensure that they taught what was on the syllabus.

As regards concerns from the school, according to the LGEA, the SS listened and reported any issues brought up on school visits to the ES. The ES then reportedly came on follow-up visits and advised school staff how best to solve problems at the school level and reported all other problems to the Board for consideration.

School support

The LGEA considered its main support to the school to consist of teacher development through the Board, sending teachers to attend workshops and training. Additionally, the local government and four development area offices reportedly gave funds to the ES to organise in-house training for teachers in subject areas. The head teacher confirmed that the LGEA had made it compulsory for teachers who did not have the minimum teaching qualification to go back to school and particularly commended the MDG training for teachers and head teachers. The head teacher said that continuous capacity building for all teachers would help him to do his job better. He also thought it was important that head teachers passed down their own training/knowledge acquired to teachers. One teacher thought more teacher training and retraining programmes/workshops would help them to improve their teaching.

The SS said they regularly visited each school, called teachers together and told them how to prepare lesson notes, and helped them where they had difficulties. Teachers also reported the SS making weekly visits to school to brief staff on developments. Otherwise, they said the SS checked lesson notes, registers and teaching.

LGEA–community relations

Opinions differed on the amount of contact and degree of consultation there was between the LGEA and community members in relation to the school. The LGEA said that their main involvement with the community involved mobilising them to enrol children in school.

The community leader said the ES consulted him on school issues and that discussions were productive regarding workshops for teachers. The SBMC also reported discussing the issue of more teachers and teaching materials with the SS while the PTA also recounted visits from the ES to “monitor progress” and see what the school was doing and what problems they had, but was not sure whether community consultations took place outside the PTA. Parents who were interviewed maintained they had not had any contact with the LGEA.

The ES and head teacher also pointed to the involvement of the district education committees (district head as chair; all ward heads as members and the SS as the secretary of the committee) that submitted reports on any school problem such as non-enrolment, school land encroachment, absenteeism, attendance, retention, lack of completion, which are then forwarded to the Board. The ES recognised the importance of involving the community and religious leaders, saying “people respect the traditional rulers.” He said he regularly met the ward heads and community leaders to encourage them to talk to people as well as trying to bring the school and the community together. The ES also reported holding monthly meetings with the district and the village education committees (the latter consisting of PTA, SBMC and community representatives) for every district. He said he was encouraging them to draw up a yearly development plan. The ES also reported that head teachers met community leaders twice a month while the SS met schools’ assistant head teacher(s) twice a month.

Even so, teachers thought that government needed to increase involvement in more awareness-raising in communities and to “intensify advocacies”, using community role models to encourage enrolment, and “talk with religious leaders”. They felt that parents needed to be “advised”. There was also a suggestion from the school that LGEA committee meetings could be used to improve school, community and LGEA cooperation.

AIE3. EDUCATIONAL ACCESS, QUALITY AND OUTCOMES – A SUMMARY

AIE3.1 General information

- There seems to be a contradiction between qualitative evidence from school and community sources that the school (because of its historical importance and new, improved facilities) is much in demand and unable to accommodate all applicants, and the quantitative data, which indicate that pupil enrolments are declining within the school.

AIE3.2 Infrastructure and security

- School, community and LGEA officials all appreciated the new, improved school buildings (including electricity, water supply, library and computing facilities and well furnished classrooms) that some felt had boosted enrolment and improved school quality.
- Researcher observations suggested the well-furnished staffroom is under-utilised by teachers.
- The walled compound is secure at the front but can be (and is) often breached at the side, e.g. by male pupils missing or arriving late for lessons.
- The formidable school gate was staffed 24 hours a day by security guards, responding to community concerns about security.
- Improving security was still an issue for some school staff and SBMC members, who wanted a higher wall all round the compound.

- There were sufficient gender-segregated, clean toilets for staff and pupils but the main pupil block had toilet cubicles facing each other without doors, which therefore lacked privacy and are under-used.
- Pupils were seen urinating in the school compound, even against the toilet wall, and some reportedly also defecated in the compound, which some female pupils really disliked.
- More play materials and sporting and recreational facilities were requested by pupils and some community respondents, as a means of improving retention – gender-segregated play facilities were suggested by one group, as a means of enhancing learning.
- Food vendors were reportedly only allowed into the compound at break though at times they were witnessed selling food during lesson time when some female pupils also joined in the selling.

AIE3.3 Teacher management

- More, qualified teachers were widely requested by community and school respondents (including teachers).
- Pupils and parents interviewed generally considered teaching to be good in the school but had some reservations.
- Teacher absenteeism and/or latecoming were seen as major obstacles to pupil learning by school and community members.
- The school had a disciplinary committee, which deals with all teacher and pupil disciplinary issues.
- Teachers felt “disappointed” at poor salaries and delays in payment, which if rectified, they said, would act as incentives to do their job better.
- Closer and better supervision of teachers was also widely requested, which LGEA officials felt they were now doing more effectively due to improved government provision of monitoring vehicles and an increased budget to cover running costs.
- The LGEA was said to have made it compulsory for all unqualified teachers to upgrade their qualifications to NCE though there was a call by some for more CPD for teachers.
- The school supervisor was said to visit the school regularly to check registers, help teachers with lesson notes and check teaching quality.
- LGEA officials also thought better co-operation from some colleagues and some head teachers would help them monitor schooling more effectively.

AIE3.4 Pupil management and pupil relations

- Pupil absenteeism and latecoming were seen as major issues in the school.
- Staff acknowledged there was an unwritten policy to use “verbal corrective disciplining”.
- Pupils were generally disciplined for latecoming by being made to do manual labour: sweeping, picking up litter or weeding though pupils also reported other physical punishments such as frog-jumping, cleaning toilets, carrying stones or being made to kneel down.
- Pupils were reportedly turned away from school for not wearing full school uniform, which was a source of school–community friction.
- Corporal punishment by some teachers was reported by pupils, and witnessed by researchers, and was reportedly a cause of absenteeism and/or dropout, and seen to cause discouragement in class.
- Corporal punishment was gendered with girls generally given fewer and lighter strokes of the cane on the palm of the hand whereas boys received more and harsher strokes on the buttocks or back although other implements were also mentioned. Some thought male teachers to be harsher.

- Prefects and monitors were appointed according to exam performance, behaviour and presentation though some pupils considered size to be important too.
- Male pupils are “monitors” and females are “assistant monitors”.
- Duties were gendered, e.g. girls generally swept the compound and classrooms in the morning and boys weeded.
- Fighting and bullying were frequently witnessed by researchers, but teachers said the situation was much improved.
- Pupils considered pupils to be generally well-behaved and respectful in the school though noted some older, bigger boys (often overage) bullied younger boys.
- Teachers were said to intervene in pupil bullying and fighting though no interventions were witnessed.
- Pupils who missed a full term were sometimes treated sympathetically by peers but sometimes ridiculed and bullied.

AIE3.5 Teaching and learning

- The new, bright classrooms with good chalkboards and sufficient benches and desks ensured pupils had a good physical learning environment.
- Despite big classrooms, some parents and staff thought large class sizes hampered pupil learning.
- Pupils were generally seated on benches with pupils of the same gender and overage pupils or boys tended to sit at the back.
- Textbook availability varied among the six observed classes from almost all pupils possessing a textbook to almost none.
- Pupils considered textbooks to be vital to pupil learning, though crucially only one teacher was seen using a textbook in class.
- There was some acknowledgement among staff and pupils that teaching methods needed to be improved and that making lessons more interesting would improve pupil punctuality and dropout.
- Teacher talk dominated in most lessons interspersed with choral repetition and some individual questioning, which made limited cognitive demands of pupils. Occasionally individual pupils were called to the board to solve a problem or read aloud. Some copying from the board was also observed.
- One lesson was more interactive and the teacher was more supportive and more pupils appeared to understand.
- There were no discernible patterns of gendered pupil participation in class and both girls and boys were seen playing or messing around in class if bored and given the opportunity.
- Pupils making noise in class was widely identified by pupils as a major impediment to learning.
- The language of instruction, both spoken and written, caused major learning difficulties for pupils, resulting in teachers needing to code-switch with Hausa.
- Pupils felt they learnt best in a mix of English and Hausa.
- Teacher–pupil relations were generally positive except in one class where the threat and practice of corporal punishment had a detrimental effect on classroom relations and pupil learning.
- There were mixed views on pupil performance; no particular social groups were consistently identified as performing well or badly although girls were often said to take the prizes at prize-giving.

AIE3.6 Socio-economic and family issues

- Household poverty was universally identified to be the root cause of numerous access issues.
- Hunger was said to cause some pupils to be late for school and affected learning.
- Bereavement, ill health or the need to care for a relative (in the case of girls) were also said to affect attendance.
- Hawking and petty trading were widely recognised as affecting the enrolment, attendance, retention and performance of some pupils, especially boys.
- In some cases parents were said to withdraw children to engage them in petty trading; in others, pupils dropped out of school themselves, sometimes without parental knowledge and/or agreement.
- Absenteeism by boys in particular was said to be particularly noticeable on market days.
- Some boys were also said to drop out of school to go begging.
- Hausa-Fulani households, especially nomadic pastoralists, were widely identified as the most affected as regards children not attending, missing, or dropping out of school.
- According to LGEA sources this was also a more widespread issue across the LGEA, especially in schools operating afternoon shifts and in the rainy season.
- Home chores were identified as a major reason for latecoming, especially for girls.
- Boys farming before school was also identified as a cause for latecoming.
- Community members were adamant that the inability of some families to pay school costs, writing materials and uniforms, in particular, impacted heavily on enrolment and retention.
- Negative views about “western education” held by some parents were identified as a cause of non-enrolment and/or dropout. Nomadic Hausa-Fulani in particular were singled out, especially as regards a perceived negative attitude towards girls’ education.
- Some parents were said to prefer Tsangaya or Islamiyya schooling.
- Boys and girls attending Tsangaya schools before attending Kilfi were often said to arrive late, which was also seen as a widespread problem across the LGEA.
- A lack of parental supervision (e.g. ensuring pupils reach school) was blamed for loitering and truancy, especially by male pupils.
- School managers and PTA members rounded up (male) pupils caught loitering and idling on the way to school, even sometimes taking them out of Qur’anic schools.
- Schooling was generally considered to be equally important for girls and boys though there was recognition that among some Muslim parents in particular, boys’ schooling was seen to be more important.
- Early marriage or pregnancy was said to be a cause of dropout for a few female pupils – both Christian and Muslim, but especially among the Hausa-Fulani – though the situation was said to be improving.
- School proximity, school quality and poverty were said to determine parental choice of school.

AIE3.7 School–community relations (including LGEA involvement)

- The PTA was the main channel of communication between school and community; the SBMC was newly formed.
- The main role of both the SBMC and PTA appeared to be fund-raising and procuring community labour for school infrastructural development, or mobilising the community/parents to improve pupil enrolment, punctuality and attendance.
- It was agreed that parents primarily supported pupil learning through provision of writing materials, textbooks and school uniform though some parents and older siblings helped with homework.
- Parents said that apart from the ₦50 termly PTA levy, they were not asked to contribute financially to the school.

- There was clearly a level of communication and co-operation between the LGEA and the PTA and SBMC committees and evidence of consultation with community and religious leaders by the LGEA and the school regarding school matters.
- Some district education committees were said to be functioning across the LGEA. The ES reported holding monthly meetings.
- There was seemingly less communication between the LGEA and ordinary parents/community members.
- Some staff members thought that yet more awareness-raising and advocacy work was needed in communities, involving religious leaders and community role models (i.e. people from the community who had achieved academic success) to improve enrolment.
- It was generally agreed that there was a lot of contact between teachers and parents, including teachers checking up on absent pupils at their home, and parents bringing their child to school to be disciplined.
- Some teachers thought that the negative attitude of some parents encouraged rudeness in pupils, which prevented them from doing their job well.
- There were mixed views on whether the wider community supported the school although the LGEA thought that more generally NGOs, CBOs and “Old Boys” associations supported schools in the area.
- There was a suggestion from the school that LGEA committee meetings could be used to improve school, community and LGEA co-operation.

APPENDIX IF

DOYA PRIMARY SCHOOL CASE STUDY REPORT

AIF1. CONTEXT AND QUANTITATIVE DATA

This is the case study report of Doya Primary School in the context of the relevant LGEA and the school's local community. It is a rural school located in the Southern Senatorial Zone of the state.

Respondents

A mixture of formal group and individual interviews were held with 15 adults and 12 children, as indicated in Table AIF1.1. Same-gender group interviews were held with two pupil groups (one female, one male), and group interviews were also held with parents, SBMC and PTA committee members. Other respondents were interviewed individually. There were fairly even numbers of Muslim and Christian respondents whereas the number of adult male respondents was much higher than the number of female respondents. Female representation at the community and school level was particularly low. In the latter case it was because there was only one (temporary) female teacher at the school at the time.

Table 1.1 Doya case study respondents

Participant group	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	TOTAL
School – staff (head teacher, teachers)	0	3	3	0	3
School – pupils	6	6	6	6	12
Community (parents, PTA, SBMC, community leader)	2	8	4	6	10
LGEA (including ES,SS)	1	1	1	1	2
TOTAL	9	18	14	13	27

Additionally, informal interaction occurred with a former male pupil of the school, now a civil servant, and a girl from another school. Two classroom observations were made.

AIF1.1 The LGA (LGEA)

Socio-demographic context

The LGEA comprises a predominantly rural and hilly area, where most people are involved in farming and petty trading. The main indigenous ethnic group is Chamba, who are both Muslim and Christian, and the Muslim Hausa-Fulani. The LGA is relatively small, comprising a population of around 150,000, according to the most recent census. It lies in the northern senatorial district, within easy access of Cameroon.

Local educational context

See main report, Chapter 4.

AIF1.2. The school community

Doya Primary School is a rural school located some distance from the nearest urban area. The population of the local community is estimated at around 2,000, according to the head teacher, and is predominantly Muslim, with Chamba the main ethnic group and some Mumuye. Chamba

and Mumuye are therefore the common local languages. There is a market nearby, and a church with a dispensary attached close to the school, dating from missionary times. There are also several mosques a little further away. Most parents were said to be involved in animal husbandry and farming, requiring extra seasonal labour primarily between April and October, according to the head teacher. Yams are also grown as a cash crop. A few parents were said to be civil servants.

AIF1.3 School

School description

Basic school information

Doya Primary School lies along a dirt track some kilometres from the nearest urban centre though near a tarred road. Although founded by Christian missionaries, the school is now predominantly populated by Muslim pupils, and has an intake of just around 500 pupils. Pupils come from within a radius of 3km from the school though some pupils reported taking up to an hour to reach school on foot. Female pupils account for 43.5% of enrolments whereas males account for 56.5%. Currently, 54.6% of the pupil intake is Muslim and 45.4% is Christian. An admission, or readmission, fee of ₦50 has now been dropped but each pupil still pays a PTA levy of ₦50 per term.

The staff

The almost completely male teaching staff of 13 includes a head teacher and two assistant heads. The distribution of the staff by qualification, gender and religion is shown in Table AIF1.2 below. Only two members of staff are female; at the time of the research one was on maternity leave, the other was temporary and neither was qualified. In contrast, out of the male staff of 11, five are qualified, possessing NCE, while six are unqualified though five possess TC Grade II. There is one other male non-teaching member of staff employed by the school.

Table AIF1.2: Teachers, including head teacher, by qualification and gender

	Qualifications	Female	Male	TOTAL
Qualified	Degree	0	0	0
	NCE	0	5	5 (38.5%)
Unqualified	TC II	0	5	5 (38.5%)
	Others	2	1	3 (23.1%)
TOTAL		2 (15.4%)	11 (84.6%)	13

Statistics on educational access and pupil outcomes

Pupil enrolment

Over the last four years, enrolments have fluctuated, from 518 in 2007–8, dipping to 477 in 2008–9 before rising again the next two years, recording 513 in 2010–11, similar to 2007–8 enrolment figures, as illustrated in Table AIF1.3. The gender profile too has fluctuated over the four-year period; in 2007–8 female pupils constituted 42.7% of enrolments with male pupils accounting for 57.3% and although the gap narrowed, then widened in the following two years, the 2010–11 gender ratios are fairly similar to what they were four years earlier at 43.5% and 56.5%. The Muslim-Christian ratio too, which stood at 55.6% and 44.4%, respectively, in 2007–8 returned to a similar ratio (54.6%, 45.4%) in 2010–11 after some fluctuation in the intervening two years. Muslim boys have consistently made up the largest proportion of the intake, comprising around 30% although numbers dropped off very slightly in 2010–11 while female Christian pupils have consistently comprised the smallest group, comprising just under 20% in 2010–11. The proportion of Christian boys and Muslim girls is also currently similar to 2007–8, despite fluctuations in the interim years, standing at 26.3% and 24.4%, respectively.

Table AIF1.3 Doya Primary School enrolments by gender and religion 2007–8 to 2010–11

Year	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	TOTAL
2007–8	221 (42.7%)	297 (57.3%)	288 (55.6%)	230 (44.4%)	518
2008–9	228 (47.8%)	249 (52.2%)	271 (56.8%)	99 (48.1%)	477
2009–10	205 (42.5%)	277 (57.5%)	294 (61.0%)	188 (39.0%)	482
2010–11	223 (43.5%)	290 (56.5%)	280 (54.6%)	233 (45.4%)	513

Across the grades (see Tables AIF1.4 and AIF1.5) for the first three years of the 2007–8 to 2010–11 period, enrolment figures generally decreased between Primary 1 and Primary 6 after rising at some stage in the intervening grades. In contrast, in 2010–11 enrolment figures increased overall from Primary 1 to 6. On the other hand, the reliability of these 2010–11 figures is questionable given the unlikely coincidence that the number of pupils registered for Primary 2, 3, 4 and 5 in 2009–10 are exactly the same as for Primary 3, 4, 5 and 6 the following year. These repeated totals become even more improbable if the high numbers of dropouts for 2009–10 reported in Table AIF1.10 (see below) are anywhere near accurate. Some dramatic reversal of numbers and ratios also cast doubt on some figures' reliability. For example, the gender ratio for Primary 3 in 2009–10 stood at 29.3% for girls, 70.7% for boys, yet apparently reversed substantially in Primary 4 the following year when 58.6% of enrolments were said to be female, as opposed to 41.4% male, despite fairly stable gender ratios in favour of boys for the same cohort in 2007–8 and 2008–9. Similarly, it seems unlikely that the Primary 4 cohort of 50 girls and 40 boys in 2009–10 reverses the gender ratio so dramatically to become a group of only 31 girls and 59 boys in Primary 6 the following year, especially when taking into consideration the dropouts (see Table AIF1.10). Table 5 also shows some improbable swings in numbers and ratios too, such as the 2007–8 cohort of Primary 1 pupils that maintains similar numbers and a similar balance of Muslims to Christians for the first two years but then records a huge 62% increase in the number of Muslim pupils (from 48 to 78) in 2009–10, whereas Christian pupils decreased from 36 to 21 over the same period yet shot back up to 50 the following year.

Table AIF1.4 Doya Primary School enrolment by gender and grade 2007–8 to 2010–11

Level	2007–8			2008–9			2009–10			2010–11		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
P1	39 (44.8%)	48 (55.2%)	87	38 (48.7%)	40 (51.3%)	78	31 (43.7%)	40 (56.3%)	71	36 (44.4%)	45 (55.6%)	81
P2	41 (47.7%)	45 (52.3%)	86	37 (44.0%)	47 (56.0%)	84	42 (49.4%)	43 (50.6%)	85	36 (50.7%)	35 (49.3%)	71
P3	43 (41.0%)	62 (59.0%)	105	44 (46.3%)	51 (53.7%)	95	29 (29.3%)	70 (70.7%)	99	33 (38.8%)	52 (61.2%)	85
P4	40 (44.4%)	50 (55.6%)	90	44 (55.7%)	35 (44.3%)	79	50 (55.6%)	40 (44.4%)	90	58 (58.6%)	41 (41.4%)	99
P5	33 (40.2%)	49 (59.8%)	82	37 (43.0%)	49 (57.0%)	86	32 (36.8%)	55 (63.2%)	87	31 (34.4%)	59 (65.6%)	90
P6	25 (36.8%)	43 (63.2%)	68	28 (50.9%)	27 (49.1%)	55	21 (42.0%)	29 (58.0%)	50	29 (33.3%)	58 (66.7%)	87
TOTAL	221 (42.7%)	297 (57.3%)	518	228 (47.8%)	249 (52.2%)	477	205 (42.5%)	277 (57.5%)	482	223 (43.5%)	290 (56.5%)	513

Table AIF1.5 Doya Primary School enrolment by religion and grade 2007–8 to 2010–11

Level	2007–8			2008–9			2009–10			2010–11		
	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	Total
P1	47 (54.0%)	40 (46.0%)	87	40 (51.3%)	38 (48.7%)	78	40 (56.3%)	31 (43.7%)	71	50 (61.7%)	31 (38.3%)	81
P2	46 (53.5%)	40 (46.5%)	86	48 (57.1%)	36 (42.9%)	84	50 (58.8%)	35 (41.2%)	85	34 (47.9%)	37 (52.1%)	71
P3	65 (61.9%)	40 (46.5%)	105	55 (57.9%)	40 (42.1%)	95	78 (78.8%)	21 (21.2%)	99	50 (58.8%)	35 (41.2%)	85
P4	40 (44.4%)	50 (55.6%)	90	49 (62.0%)	30 (38.0%)	79	50 (55.6%)	40 (44.4%)	90	49 (49.5%)	50 (50.5%)	99
P5	50 (61.0%)	32 (39.0%)	82	49 (57.0%)	37 (43.0%)	86	50 (57.5%)	37 (42.5%)	87	49 (54.4%)	41 (45.6%)	90
P6	40 (58.8%)	28 (41.2%)	68	30 (54.5%)	25 (45.5%)	55	26 (52.0%)	24 (48.0%)	50	48 (55.2%)	39 (44.8%)	87
TOTAL	288 (55.6%)	230 (44.4%)	518	271 (56.8%)	206 (43.2%)	477	294 (61.0%)	188 (39.0%)	482	280 (54.6%)	233 (45.4%)	513

Overage pupils

The number and percentage of overage pupils rose from 95 (8.3%) in 2008–9 to 113 (9.8%) in 2009–10, before declining to 91 (8.5%) in 2010–11 though the pattern was not uniform across social groups. The difference among social groups, however, was slight, irrespective of the year, with the percentage of overage pupils only ranging from 6.7% for female pupils in 2008–9 to 10.1% for male pupils in the same year.

Table AIF1.5 Doya Primary School overage* pupils by gender and religion 2007–8 to 2010–11

	Total numbers (%) of overage pupils by gender and religion				
Year	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	TOTAL
2007–8	44 (19.9%)	55 (18.5%)	45 (15.6%)	54 (23.5%)	99 (19.1%)
2008–9	29 (12.7%)	32 (12.9%)	30 (11.1%)	31 (15.0%)	61 (12.8%)
2009–10	28 (13.7%)	39 (14.1%)	37 (12.6%)	30 (16.0%)	67 (13.9%)
2010–11	38 (17.0%)	37 (12.8%)	42 (15.0%)	33 (14.2%)	75 (14.6%)

*Pupils three or more years older than the official age for each year

There are few discernible patterns when looking at the data by grade and social group (see Tables AIF1.6 and AIF1.7 below) except to say that the overage percentage is predominantly highest in Primary 1 across all four years for all social groups. However, given the concerns expressed above about the reliability of some of the enrolment figures, then these figures for overage pupils need to be interpreted with similar caution.

Table AIF1.6 Doya Primary School overage pupils by gender and grade 2007–8 to 2010–11

Level	2007–8			2008–9			2009–10			2010–11		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
P1	11 (28.1%)	16 (33.3%)	27 (31.0%)	4 (10.5%)	6 (15.0%)	10 (12.8%)	9 (29.0%)	8 (20.0%)	17 (23.3%)	10 (27.8%)	9 (20.0%)	19 (23.3%)
P2	11 (26.8%)	15 (33.3%)	26 (30.2%)	4 (10.8%)	5 (10.6%)	9 (10.7%)	3 (7.1%)	8 (18.6%)	11 (12.9%)	5 (13.9%)	7 (20.0%)	12 (16.9%)
P3	6 (14.0%)	6 (9.7%)	12 (11.4%)	7 (15.9%)	8 (15.7%)	15 (15.8%)	4 (13.8%)	8 (11.4%)	12 (12.1%)	9 (27.3%)	7 (13.5%)	16 (18.8%)
P4	5 (12.5%)	7 (14.0%)	12 (13.3%)	5 (11.4%)	5 (14.3%)	10 (12.7%)	4 (8.0%)	8 (20.0%)	12 (13.1%)	3 (5.2%)	5 (12.2%)	8 (8.1%)
P5	8 (24.2%)	9 (18.4%)	17 (20.7%)	5 (13.5%)	3 (6.1%)	8 (9.3%)	3 (9.4%)	3 (5.5%)	6 (6.9%)	8 (25.8%)	4 (6.8%)	12 (13.3%)
P6	3	2	5	4	5	9	5	4	9	3	5	8

	(12.0%)	(4.7%)	(7.4%)	(14.3%)	(18.5%)	(16.4%)	(23.8%)	(13.8%)	(18.0%)	(10.3%)	(8.6%)	(9.2%)
TOTAL	44 (19.9%)	55 (18.5%)	99 (19.1%)	29 (12.7%)	32 (12.9%)	61 (12.8%)	28 (13.7%)	39 (14.1%)	67 (13.9%)	38 (17.0%)	37 (12.8%)	75 (14.6%)

Table AIF1.7 Doya Primary School overage pupils by religion and grade 2007–8 to 2010–11

Level	2007–8			2008–9			2009–10			2010–11		
	Mu	Ch	Total	Mu	Ch	Total	Mu	Ch	Total	Mu	Ch	Total
P1	10 (21.3%)	17 (42.5%)	27 (31.0%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (13.2%)	10 (12.8%)	11 (27.5%)	6 (19.4%)	17 (23.9)	12 (24.0%)	7 (22.6%)	19 (23.5)
P2	11 (23.9%)	15 (37.5%)	26 (30.2%)	6 (12.5%)	3 (8.3%)	9 (10.7%)	6 (12.0%)	5 (14.3%)	11 (12.9%)	9 (26.5%)	3 (8.1%)	12 (16.9%)
P3	7 (10.8%)	5 (12.5%)	12 (11.4%)	7 (12.7%)	8 (20.0%)	15 (15.8%)	8 (10.3%)	4 (19.0%)	12 (12.1%)	10 (20.0%)	6 (17.1%)	16 (18.8%)
P4	7 (17.5%)	5 (10.0%)	12 (13.3%)	3 (6.1%)	7 (23.3%)	10 (12.7%)	4 (8.0%)	8 (20.0%)	12 (13.1%)	5 (10.2%)	3 (6.0%)	8 (8.1%)
P5	7 (14.0%)	10 (31.3%)	17 (20.7%)	4 (8.2%)	4 (10.8%)	8 (9.3%)	4 (8.0%)	2 (5.4%)	6 (6.9%)	4 (8.2%)	8 (19.5%)	12 (13.3%)
P6	3 (7.5%)	2 (7.1%)	5 (7.4%)	5 (16.7%)	4 (16.0%)	9 (16.4%)	4 (15.4%)	5 (20.8%)	9 (18.0%)	2 (4.2%)	6 (15.4%)	8 (9.2%)
TOTAL	45 (15.6%)	54 (23.5%)	99 (19.1%)	30 (11.1%)	31 (15.0%)	61 (12.8%)	37 (12.6%)	30 (16.0%)	67 (13.9%)	42 (15.0%)	33 (14.2%)	75 (14.6%)

Pupil attendance

Table AIF1.8 below illustrates the number of pupil days absent per term by gender and religion for the three-year period 2007–8 to 2009–10. Overall the number of days pupils were absent increased from 593 in 2007–8 to 620 in 2009–10, declining substantially to 376 in the intervening year. These figures equate to an average of 1.3 days absent per pupil in 2010–11. No clear patterns emerge as regards either gender or religion. Although more absences were recorded for male pupils for the first year of the period, more absences were recorded for female pupils in the last two years. In terms of religion, there were more absences for Muslim pupils in the first and third years of the period. However, since researchers visiting the school on two days noted that scarcely any pupils were in school following heavy rains, and interviewees reported lengthy absences during harvest time for some pupils, these figures clearly represent a major underestimation. Nor do the figures reflect any seasonal variation suggested in the qualitative data that indicate that absenteeism is higher during the harvesting season.

Table AIF1.8 Doya Primary School number of days absent by term and by gender 2007–8 to 2009–10

	Gender	2007–8	2008–9	2009–10	TOTAL
First term	Female	79	57	116	252
	Male	82	65	78	225
Second term	Female	98	68	78	283
	Male	109	59	126	294
Third term	Female	116	71	95	282
	Male	109	56	88	253
Annual totals		593 (F:293; M: 300)	376 (F:196; M:180)	620 (F: 328; M:292)	

Table AIF1.9 Doya Primary School number of days absent by term and by religion 2008–9 to 2009–10

	Religion	2007–8	2008–9	2009–10	TOTAL
First term	Muslim	78	54	100	232
	Christian	83	68	94	245
Second term	Muslim	113	65	134	312
	Christian	94	62	109	265
Third term	Muslim	114	60	95	269
	Christian	111	67	88	266
Annual totals		593 (Mu:305;Ch:288)	376 (Mu:179;Ch:197)	620 (Mu:737;Ch:738)	

Pupil dropout

Dropout rates appear to have increased dramatically over the three-year period, 2007–8 to 2009–10, from 48 (9.3% of enrolments) in 2007–8, to 105 (22%) in 2008–9, and 180 (37.3%) in 2009–10. Thus, the figures for 2009–10 indicate that over a third of pupils dropped out of school during the year. This steady increase in the proportion of enrolled pupils that have dropped out of school over the three-year period holds true for girls, boys, Muslims and Christians.

Table 1.10 Doya Primary School pupil dropout and dropout rate by gender and religion 2007–8 to 2009–10

Year	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	Total dropouts	Overall dropout rate*
2007–8	25 (11.3%)	23 (7.7%)	32 (11.1%)	16 (7.0%)	48	9.3%
2008–9	52 (22.8%)	53 (21.3%)	60 (22.1%)	45 (21.8%)	105	22.0%
2009–10	87 (42.4%)	93 (33.6%)	88 (29.9%)	92 (48.9%)	92	37.3%

*Number of dropouts as a percentage of the number of enrolments for the year.

However, large differences in the percentage of pupils enrolled who drop out in particular grades (see Tables AIF1.10 and AIF1.11) and inconsistencies of some of the grade-specific dropout numbers with the enrolment numbers shown in Table AIF1.4 suggest that some of the dropout figures, like some of the enrolment figures, may be unreliable. For example it seems unlikely that 66% of pupils enrolled in Primary 6 in 2009–10 dropped out of school, especially when only 8.8% and 10.9% had dropped out from Primary 6 in the previous two years. To take another example, of the 40 Muslim pupils registered for Primary 1 in 2009–10, 24 were said to have dropped out, leaving 16 pupils; yet in 2010–11 for Primary 2, 34 pupils were apparently enrolled, suggesting over half of the Muslim cohort comprised new enrolments, returnees or repeaters. Even more unlikely, of the 29 female pupils in Primary 3 in 2009–10 16 (55.2%) were said to have dropped out, leaving 13, yet the following year's enrolment for female pupils is 58, suggesting over three quarters of enrolments were new pupils, returnees or repeaters.

Table AIF1.11 Doya Primary School pupil dropout and dropout rate by gender and grade 2007–8 to 2010–11

Level	2007–8			2008–9			2009–10		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
P1	3 (7.7%)	7 (14.6%)	10 (11.5%)	11 (28.9%)	14 (53.0%)	25 (32.1%)	21 (67.7%)	21 (52.5%)	42 (59.2%)

P2	5 (12.2%)	6 (13.3%)	11 (12.8%)	13 (35.1%)	13 (27.7%)	26 (31.0%)	13 (31.0%)	17 (39.5%)	30 (35.3%)
P3	3 (7.0%)	3 (4.8%)	6 (5.7%)	9 (20.5%)	6 (11.8%)	15 (15.8%)	16 (55.2%)	14 (20.0%)	30 (30.3%)
P4	7 (17.5%)	4 (8.0%)	11 (12.2%)	6 (13.6%)	11 (31.4%)	17 (21.5%)	9 (18.0%)	11 (27.5%)	20 (22.2%)
P5	3 (9.1%)	1 (2.0%)	4 (4.9%)	9 (24.3%)	7 (14.3%)	16 (18.6%)	11 (34.4%)	14 (25.5%)	25 (28.7%)
P6	4 (16.0%)	2 (4.7%)	6 (8.8%)	4 (14.3%)	2 (7.4%)	6 (10.9%)	17 (81.0%)	16 (55.2%)	33 (66.0%)
TOTAL	25 (11.3%)	23 (7.7%)	48 (9.3%)	52 (22.8%)	53 (21.3%)	105 (22.0%)	87 (42.4%)	93 (33.6%)	180 (37.3%)

Table 1.12 Doya Primary School pupil dropout and dropout rate by religion and grade 2007–8 to 2010–11

Level	2007–8			2008–9			2009–10		
	Mu	Ch	Total	Mu	Ch	Total	Mu	Ch	Total
P1	7 (14.9%)	3 (7.5%)	10 (11.5%)	13 (32.5%)	12 (31.6%)	25 (32.1%)	24 (60.0%)	18 (58.1%)	42 (59.2%)
P2	6 (13.0%)	5 (12.5%)	11 (12.8%)	18 (37.5%)	8 (22.2%)	26 (31.0%)	14 (28.0%)	16 (45.7%)	30 (35.3%)
P3	3 (4.6%)	3 (7.5%)	6 (5.7%)	9 (16.4%)	6 (15.0%)	15 (15.8%)	15 (19.2%)	15 (71.4%)	30 (30.3%)
P4	8 (20.0%)	3 (6.0%)	11 (12.2%)	8 (16.3%)	9 (30.0%)	17 (21.5%)	9 (18.0%)	11 (27.5%)	20 (22.2%)
P5	3 (6.0%)	1 (3.1%)	4 (4.9%)	7 (14.3%)	9 (24.3%)	16 (18.6%)	10 (20.0%)	15 (40.5%)	25 (28.7%)
P6	5 (12.5%)	1 (3.6%)	6 (8.8%)	5 (16.7%)	1 (4.0%)	6 (10.9%)	16 (61.5%)	17 (70.8%)	33 (66.0%)
TOTAL	32 (11.1%)	54 (23.5%)	48 (9.3%)	30 (11.1%)	45 (21.8%)	105 (22.0%)	88 (29.9%)	92 (48.9%)	180 (37.3%)

Pupil performance

Over the three-year period 2007–8 to 2009–10, the range of top marks improved noticeably from 54–70 in 2007–8 to 80–100 in 2009–10. Even the range of bottom marks improved slightly. This was true overall and for all four social groups except for Muslim girls, whose bottom marks were lower in 2009–10 than they were in 2007–8. Male Christian pupils recorded the top marks in each of the three years, which is in line with what teachers said about pupil performance in the interview data.

Table 1.12 Doya Primary School pupil performance according to gender and religion 2007–8 to 2009–10

Year	Marks	Female		Male		Overall range of marks
		Muslim	Christian	Muslim	Christian	
2007–8	top mark	56	64	54	70	54–70
	bottom mark	37	52	28	26	26–52
2008–9	top mark	64	63	73	73	63–73
	bottom mark	20	52	31	37	20–52
2009–10	top mark	80	90	85	100	80–100
	bottom mark	30	55	30	50	30–55

2. QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

AIF2.1. The school

General school issues

School facilities

There are five blocks containing ten classrooms in the school. Several buildings had a leaking roof and the rooms were generally in poor condition, with numerous broken doors and windows and non-cement or potholed cement floors. Only classrooms for Primary 5 and 6 had windows, doors and benches though even they had insufficient furniture. One parent complained: “This is an old school ... most of us attended this school and no attention [has come] from government [un]like other schools in the state.”

Despite the fact that there were classrooms available, Primary 1 lessons were held under shade and pupils drew in the sand so they did not have to use books or pencils. Nor did most have uniforms, in part to help parents save money. An area in one of the classrooms was set aside as a library with a few books that clearly had not been used for some time as they were covered in thick dust. Teachers said that there were insufficient books but maintained that pupils sometimes used them under the supervision of monitors when teachers were holding staff meetings. One classroom was also set aside for pre-school.

The school has no electricity or water supply. The school used the community borehole; buckets of water, with a cup, were kept outside the head teacher’s office for pupils to use. Pupils also went to town or went to homes with wells to get water at break but were said not to return on many occasions. The SS, commenting in general on their schools, said that kids were often taken away from school to look for water.

The one toilet block of two latrines (one female, one male) was safe and clean but there were no toilets for children, who had to use the bush although the SS and parents were under the impression that there was a toilet for pupils, albeit dilapidated. One parent explained that some pupils did not like using the bush: “The children go back home when pressed and most times do not return.”

The compound was effectively unfenced apart from a few posts and a bit of barbed wire, which served to protect a few young mango trees. Various school and community respondents, including members of the PTA and SBMC, were adamant that the school should be fenced and have a gate, and that a borehole should be sunk:

This school is an old school, with many graduates that are successful all over the country. In this regard, we would like the government to make the school good by fencing it and making it solid (PTA member)

If I am to change something in this school, I will start by building a fence around the school with a gate; then I will sink two boreholes (SBMC member)

The head teacher was also keen to acquire land from the community for a school garden but was aware that land was scarce. The compound was clean during the visits but the ground was uneven and stony. However, pupils complained that they did not like the “dirty environment” of both the classrooms and the compound. They were possibly referring to the state of the school after the lengthy teachers’ strike. In the area around the school cattle, goats and sheep were visible. There was limited shade provided by two large trees, and the mango trees constituted the only cultivation. There was also an overgrown and stony football pitch and an assembly area with the flagpole down on the ground and no flag, as it was apparently torn.

The head teacher's office had furniture and there was a staff room but no first aid kit in school.

Security

Since the compound is unfenced, pupils can easily leave the compound while unauthorised outsiders can easily pass through the school. The lack of fencing round the school was a matter of concern to all parties and parents expressed the view that it encouraged pupil truancy and absenteeism. As one parent put it: "Teachers can't catch latecomers because pupils can decide to come into the school at any angle." For the pupils it was one of the main things they disliked about their school. One teacher reported that farmers often passed through to get to and from their fields, sometimes bringing their animals with them. On one research visit, a goat was seen in the classroom. Some farmers, they said, insulted pupils through the windows. The head teacher admitted that use of the school premises by some farmers was a point of tension with the community (see Section 2.2. on *Community-school relations*). Cattle, goats and sheep were seen around classrooms on research visits and on one occasion a goat was seen inside a classroom. Furthermore, "school properties are destroyed by youth from the community", the head teacher added. Other outsiders smoking Indian hemp also reportedly passed through the school grounds. According to the head teacher, drug abuse was a priority issue for the PTA.

School routines

Assembly was said to be daily at 7.30am although one teacher said it was more usually held around 7.45am. Lessons start at 8am, ending officially at 1.30pm with the main break at 9.30am. Teachers said pupils are inspected in assembly twice a week, on Mondays and Wednesdays. The routine of a teacher raising the flag in the morning and lowering it after school had been abandoned since the flag was said to be torn.

The SS reported that generally in schools prefects organised the pupils for assembly according to class and height though some pupils grouped themselves according to gender, which was allowed. Pupils are required to clean the school at 6.30am before assembly and weekly general cleaning takes place from 8–10am, supervised by the labour teacher and aided by prefects (see section on *School management of pupils* below). All pupils complained that they disliked constantly having to sweep in school and the girls, in particular, said it was not fair that the boys were never asked to sweep inside the classrooms.

School management of staff

LGEA, school and community respondents all agreed that the shortage of teachers, especially qualified teachers, was a major issue in the school. To help address the shortfall the head teacher said that "applicants from the community who have pivotal training /diploma certificates are pleaded with to also teach on a non-payment basis." Female teachers, in particular are lacking in the school, which has only one permanent female teacher (on maternity leave) and one temporary one, who are both unqualified. One is nominally in charge of the library. The teaching staff of 13 includes two assistant heads. Other posts of responsibility include discipline, exams (which includes drawing up the timetable) games, and labour, which were all held by male teachers. The discipline teacher was known by pupils as "Dr Beating". There was also a "duty master" in charge of daily activities, including assembly and punishment of pupils, but no school counsellor.

The SBMC praised the teachers in the school for being hard working and teacher absenteeism was not mentioned by pupils and only mentioned indirectly by parents when they compared current teachers to teachers in the "olden days", when teachers did not skip classes. However, the ES said that across the LGEA sometimes teachers came late to school and/or did not prepare

lesson plans. The latter was confirmed by the head teacher. The lack of teaching and learning witnessed on two out of the four research visits were ascribed on one occasion to the rainy season, and on the second occasion to the teachers' strike. This had been called off in other schools by then, but not in Doya. All the above provides further evidence of teacher (and pupil) absenteeism. Moreover, one teacher also confirmed that teacher absenteeism was an issue, particularly on market days, and that (some) parents had mentioned it. "Teachers do not enter class. Pupils only have one lesson a day; parents say so too" they said, adding that "teachers do not work because of pay. Teachers are discouraged. Teachers suffer more." Generally, teacher morale was said to be low and there was resentment that teachers had not been considered in government discussions about the minimum wage. "Government usually abandons us", one teacher explained. There was sympathy from parents, who felt that teachers were poorly paid, not paid on time, and lacked incentives such as being able to go for further studies. Additionally, parents pointed out that since there was no accommodation in the village, teachers had to travel far to reach school. One suggested that the reintroduction of a teachers' college in the area "will improve teacher performance to teach well and better".

On two of the four visits no teaching was going on and few teachers or pupils were present in school. On the only day lessons were observed the Primary 6 teacher was absent and several teachers were seen sitting around under the tree, chatting with each other.

The SS reportedly visited their schools at least once a week to ensure that teachers were teaching and absentee teachers were reported to the LGEA and sometimes summoned to the ES to explain their absence and/or get a warning. The head teacher did not complain about teacher absenteeism even when teachers were seen to be absent from class on the research visits.

A teacher confirmed that since the head teacher was a member of the teacher's union, he was also often absent on union business. The head teacher was absent for two out of the four research visits.

School management of pupils

There was disagreement among teachers as to whether a discipline policy existed in the school though there was more agreement that practice was gender-differentiated. One teacher explained that teachers were supposed to use their discretion in how they disciplined pupils and if necessary they were to send the pupil to the head teacher. Another teacher said that there was a policy, namely to give boys two strokes of the cane on the buttocks and girls one stroke on the hand whereas the head teacher also talked about age-related punishments for latecomers: "proportion to their ages – light punishment two to four canes on the buttocks and a verbal reprimand." He continued: "Most times female teachers punish female pupils and administer the light punishment of two to four strokes." Two male teachers thought "female teachers and women generally have more sympathy when dealing with children" because of their involvement with children at home. Generally female teachers punished girls and male teachers punished boys though this presumably was not always possible given the lack of female teachers. One male teacher said that "sexually mature" girls were not flogged, which he believed encouraged some such girls in Primary 6 to misbehave.

Observations and interviews confirmed that corporal punishment was widely practised in the school, especially on boys. And parents said that flogging put off some boys from coming back to school. Pupils were seen being flogged either with a cane or a stick for latecoming; "girls on the hand and boys on the buttocks". Girls thought it was unfair to be beaten for latecoming. As one girl put it: "Teacher X and teacher Y beats us when we come late; they beat us at the buttocks using cane and it's unfair to beat us for just coming late".

For absenteeism, pupils agreed they were either beaten, verbally reprimanded and/or given a warning. Other punishable offences included improper dress, such as torn uniforms or wearing trousers “swagger ass down” (i.e. not properly pulled up), coming to school dirty, not doing homework, insulting parents or teachers, fighting, refusing to sweep the school, or not making their own broom. Punishments include flogging, being made to kneel down or forced to carry a stone. One teacher said that for serious offences, such as stealing or insulting teachers, pupils were publicly flogged at assembly.

Pupils reported that if they complained about “teasing” of any kind to teachers, such as boys beating girls, the teacher will intervene and flog the offending pupil(s). Prefects too intervened and beat their peers. However, older boys were seen bullying younger boys but no teacher intervention was observed. Nor did teachers try to prevent pupils from leaving the school area during break.

Teachers reported that prefects were selected from Primary 5 and 6 pupils based on classroom performance – especially in English, according to pupils. The SS said generally in schools some were selected based on size. Pupils said both girls and boys could be selected as prefects and monitors but staff noted that prefects were mainly male. The head girl and boy were appointed on performance, punctuality and confidence. The head girl was said to “control” girls whereas the head boy, was the Head Prefect in charge of both boys and girls. Generally though, observations indicated that prefects generally performed gender-segregated duties with female prefects in charge of girls, and boys in charge of boys. Teachers explained that prefects arrived early at 7am to stop and cane latecomers. Monitors were in charge of pupils in the classroom when the teacher was absent.

Prefects for other specific duties included the “office girl”, who cleaned the head teacher’s office, and four house captains in charge of sporting or other competitive activities. In addition a timekeeping prefect was in charge of the school bell (a male prefect when researchers visited) and social prefects ensured pupils were dressed correctly, with the head boy and male prefects advising boys, and the head girl and female prefects advising girls. All pupils seen in the school had uniforms except for one boy in one of the observed lessons but girls generally seemed to be neater. The duty prefects, according to the SS, “inspect sweeping, cleaning, ring the bell, help conduct assembly by arranging pupils according to class”.

Prefects themselves were distinguishable by their green caps and/or long sleeves whereas the head boy and girl wore red caps. Girls in Primary 4, 5 and 6 were permitted to wear trousers. The school supervisor said teachers checked on missing pupils at home since some boys refused to go to school and others got “diverted” on the way to school or hung out with gangs:

Boys especially during raining seasons go to other people’s farms to do work that earns them money. Some boys also go to the eastern part of the country looking for money. Those who attend school, sometimes divert to join layabouts and miscreants.

The school’s only female teacher was said to take care of girls, advising them about cleanliness, hair and uniforms, which helped improve neatness, and how girls should “take care of themselves”, especially during menstruation:

One of my responsibilities [as the school’s only female teacher] is to take care of girls concerning their health, to be tidy always. Sometimes I notice girls that are menstruating; sometimes they complain about stomach problem and headache. Some don’t come to school during their period and if I find out I report to the class teacher so that they will not be punished. I suggest that government should help encourage girls by providing pads to girls as an awareness. There was a

time I told my class to stand up, when they did, one girl was menstruating and was wet, the whole class started laughing at her. Since at the moment [that time] I've [still] nothing to assist her; simply told her to go home and bath, which she did and she came back to school the next day.

Pupil–pupil relations

Teachers said that at break girls and boys generally played separately. Observations indicated that younger boys and girls mixed more freely whereas older pupils stayed in age-related gender-segregated groups.

Pupils complained that there was a lot of fighting, bullying and noise in the school both inside and outside the classroom, which they did not like. Teachers also confirmed that pupils often teased each other for wearing torn, patched or dirty uniforms, or for not taking a bath. They also maintained that generally girls teased each other more because they were dirtier:

Sometimes some pupils with new uniforms come to class and show off by teasing those with dirty uniforms, sometimes they laugh at those without good uniforms.

However, on the one visit when classes were happening, the girls seemed generally to be neater. Nearly all pupils were wearing uniform except for one boy. On another visit a boy was seen heading off for market, allegedly to get his school shirt mended. The SS said that both girls and boys teased each other; girls teased boys particularly when girls did better academically.

In the classroom

Classroom condition and resources

Classroom conditions varied across the school from adequate to grossly inadequate. The classrooms where the two lessons were observed had good chalkboards, one of which had clear notes from the previous lesson. The walls were bare but the windows allowed in sufficient light. Furniture in one of the observed classes was in very poor condition, as in other classrooms where there was furniture. Some classrooms had good cement floors, some had potholed floors and others had no cement floor (see earlier section on *School buildings and facilities*). Parents said that some classes had no chalkboard or windows. One parent recounted how the PTA had repaired the broken windows but observed that they have been broken again.

The ES was of the view that providing functional classrooms and reducing overcrowding helps improve the quality of teaching.

In the two observed classes all pupils appeared to have writing materials but interviews suggested this was not always the case. One teacher remarked that some boys sometimes did not bring pencils to class so couldn't copy off the board whereas one parent commented that some parents couldn't afford to buy exercise books for their children and so some pupils without books stole from those who had them. The SS, though, maintained that across their schools all pupils came to school with writing materials.

Shortage of school textbooks was widely cited as a major obstacle to pupil learning by school and community respondents, and identified as a more widespread problem across the LGEA. As the SS said: "In a class of 20 pupils it is possible to find six texts – inadequate". One pupil complained: "Teachers should be reading for us so we can also read on our own, we also need textbooks to take them home and we need calculators too."

In Doya Primary School only teachers were said to have textbooks though a few parents apparently provided textbooks. The SS said that in some schools teachers put pupils in groups to share books although in Doya one of the teachers interviewed said he did not ask pupils with textbooks to share in his class. In one of the two observed lessons, no pupils had textbooks; in

the other, a pile of textbooks remained on one seat but they were not used. Teachers also bemoaned the lack of teaching aids. Chalk was seen to be readily available.

Seating arrangements

In the two observed lessons, class sizes ranged from 28 to 36 (15–19 girls; 13–17 boys) with slightly more girls than boys present in both classes. Some female pupils interviewed maintained that their attendance is usually better because they liked school more. There were ten benches in one class, eleven in the other, arranged in rows with four pupils on average per seat in Primary 4, and three in Primary 5. In the Primary 5 class the benches were arranged fairly haphazardly.

As observed in the Primary 4 class, many other classes were said to be overcrowded and/or lacking in furniture, particularly at the beginning of term when enrolments were high. According to the ES and SS, this situation was common across the LGEA. Pupils therefore sat on logs, stones or on the window frames, according to the SS. In Doya, this is a major source of dissatisfaction with pupils, teachers, parents and the PTA. As one teacher pointed out, it constitutes a major obstacle to pupil learning. The following comments from parents illustrate the problem:

When you see six pupils seated in a bench you know that seats are not enough.

Our children sit on the floor because there are no seats, desks and classrooms. Some sit on the window frame.

Because the children sit on the floor their uniforms get dirty fast and most parents are too poor to be buying detergent every day

The implication seemed to be that the situation eases slightly when numbers drop off during term. On the other hand, one of the things that pupils liked about the school was the fact that there were a lot of pupils.

In both observed lessons, girls and boys sat on benches together, reflecting school policy. As the pupils explained: “Teachers mix us”. One teacher explained that it was to stop girls and boys playing in class. He said pupils did not mind and tended to group themselves according to the village they come from. Parents also accepted the seating arrangement as it was official school policy and “it aids learning”. However, the SS noted that generally Muslim boys did not like sitting next to girls, especially in the higher primary classes

Pedagogy (including teacher–pupil relations)

Both lessons observed involved whole-class teaching. In one class the teacher monologued throughout, demanding occasional choral repetition but with no questions to check understanding and indeed it appeared that pupils did not understand the lesson content. In the other lesson, the teacher demanded slightly more interaction from pupils, occasionally asking some individual questions and some pupils – girls more than boys – appeared to show some understanding.

In the lesson where pupils were asked questions, the teacher concentrated on a group of girls, especially one girl at the back who usually knew the answer. Generally more girls raised their hands to answer questions than boys and appeared to display a greater level of understanding. In the interviews, girls confirmed this: “Girls answer more questions in class; more girls raise their hands in class.” However, the boys interviewed maintained that they participated more because “girls play too much.” The head teacher and both teachers interviewed also thought that boys participated more. One teacher said that although very few pupils answered questions, a few asked questions: boys more than girls and Christians more than Muslims (see below). The head teacher believed that girls were too shy to participate in class. “It may be natural that girls can’t

do well; most girls behave like that. Though the girls participate more when female teachers teach them but for the boys it doesn't matter."

The language of instruction, however, was identified by teachers as a major barrier to pupil learning. The head teacher explained:

This school is a rural school, the environment is not educative like urban areas e.g., language, communication is a problem. Some pupils are slow learners – some can only speak Chamba and Fulfulde... Teachers teach in English and interpret in the mother tongue.

One lesson was conducted primarily in English with extensive code-switching with Hausa; the other lesson was conducted mainly in Hausa, code-switching with English and Chamba. Pupils had mixed views. They admitted that learning was difficult in English but thought that learning in English would improve their English: "We want to speak English." One pupil said: "Mix[ing] Hausa/English will make us mix – English/Hausa." Some pupils thought it would be better if they learnt to read and write in English but were taught in Hausa, especially if difficult concepts were explained in Hausa: "We understand better, we understand better". One of the teachers also found teaching in English difficult and used Hausa and Chamba too.

Both boys and girls agreed that male and female teachers taught differently but did not elaborate. One of the male teachers interviewed thought that men taught better while another thought that female teachers could handle small children better because they were used to dealing with them at home whereas "men go out".

Teacher–pupil relations in the observed classes were deemed to be authoritarian but positive. One girl was seen showing traditional respect for her elders by bowing down when asking permission to leave the classroom. The pupils interviewed said that teachers like the pupils and treated them all equally. In particular pupils like teachers who explained clearly, ensured pupils were clean, caring, punctual, respected pupils' opinions, asked pupils questions and turned up to teach every day.

The issue of lack of homework was also raised by parents and the SS, although a writing assignment was given to pupils in one of the observed lessons. Parents wanted more homework "to keep pupils busy" because "pupils watch films". The SS complained that in general in schools not enough homework was given out and that "even when pupils are given homework, they go home to give someone to do the homework for them." The SS' solution was for teachers to redo the homework assignment in class to make sure that it was the pupil's own work.

Parents were unconvinced that all teachers could manage all the subjects they taught and said that some skipped topics that they couldn't handle, such as knitting.

Pupil performance

In terms of academic performance, girls' and boys' views differed once again: boys thought that girls did not do as well because girls went out at night:

Girls do not perform well because they play a lot; they do throw one another [playing]. Girls also do not learn how to read, at night, they go out even when they are being stopped; they remove their shoes, hold hands together and sneak out to play at night.

Girls, in contrast said they performed better because "boys play a lot". The teacher interviewed thought boys did better and Christian boys in particular since through Sunday school he thought Christians were more used to the classroom learning environment, such as using a chalkboard and learning in English (and Hausa). The head teacher also thought that boys generally got better results, especially Christian boys, although the school was unable to produce any PSLE statistics,

for example, to back this up. He also thought that (some) female pupils got discouraged in class because they knew they were going to marry. This was his explanation for why some girls did not copy notes from the board, nor do homework. However, he also noted that some boys did not copy, generally those who did not bring pencils.

In terms of test results, the PTA thought all pupils did equally well and the ES and SBMC thought highly of school results. An SBMC member boasted that good graduates were produced each year, some of whom got places in the federal secondary schools.

Discipline

Pupil behaviour was deemed to be poor in both classes observed although in one class the teacher rebuked pupils for laughing at a boy for getting the answer wrong. In the same class, however, he made no comment at an older girl coming into the class with food and handing over a ₦20 note to a female vendor in the class. Pupils admitted to sometimes eating sugar cane in class. In one lesson, where the researcher described many of the boys as “rough”, the teacher struggled to maintain control shouting at the pupils though he ignored one older, larger boy hitting a younger one on the head in plain view. Several incidents of boys bullying other boys were witnessed in that class. Indeed, all pupil groups – and boys in particular – complained that bullying, fighting and teasing were aspects of school that they disliked (see below). Pupils also complained that rowdy classes (confirmed by observation) made it difficult to learn: “*Bam mu son duka, surutu da neman fada*” [We don’t want flogging, noise making and some pupils (both boys and girls) looking for trouble].

Though no physical disciplining of pupils was witnessed in the classroom, pupils and staff reported that pupils – and generally boys – were physically disciplined, for example for fighting in class. One teacher said that boys were given two strokes on the buttocks whereas girls received one stroke on the hand. Other disciplinary practices reported by one teacher included making pupils run round the classroom or sending out noisemakers. Pupils also said they could be punished for speaking in local languages. (See also *School management of pupils*.)

Pupils reported, however, that rewards for good performance helped them learn better. The SS too reported that (some) teachers gave rewards such as sweets, groundnut cake, corn flour snacks and “*dabra*” that children appreciated, presumably paid for out of their own pocket.

Pupil–pupil relations

Despite mixed-gender seating arrangements in class, in one of the lessons girls tended to interact with girls, and boys with boys. In that same class, where incidents of bullying were witnessed, boys were seen bullying boys. In the other class, there was freer interaction across gender, religion and ethnic group. Nevertheless, teachers and girls admitted that (some) boys bullied girls, though boys maintained it was teasing rather than bullying: “We tease; we don’t bully” When boys or girls sat together, both girls and boys teased each other about being married: “We are teased husband and wife and girls fight back.” Girls also complained of being “teased” by being touched, prodded or poked. Boys also admitted that boys sometimes fought amongst themselves. Girls in contrast maintained that girls got on well with each other. Teachers considered girls to be “shy” and did not want to mix with boys, though the above-mentioned harassment by (some) boys was likely to be a factor. The teachers considered that boys and girls had good relations in the school, for example eating together. They also cited the fact that boys lent their materials to girls although the latter seemed to go against one of the teacher’s earlier observations that some boys did not bring their pencils to class.

AIF2.2 Family and community

Socio-economic activities

Although there are some civil servants among the community, the vast majority are farmers involved in crop cultivation and animal husbandry. According to the head teacher, seasonal labour is in demand from April to October. Teachers said absenteeism for farming was greatest at harvest time when some pupils also went to work on other people's farms to earn money. One teacher thought that this affected girls in particular. Various respondents agreed that cattle rearing and farm labouring were major causes of lateness, absenteeism (and therefore subsequent repetition) among both Christian and Muslim boys year round, and also a cause of overage enrolment in school, according to parents. Older boys in school sometimes teased and insulted those out of school. The ES pointed out that boys sometimes dropped out to rear cattle because a year's labour would earn them a cow in payment. Although the PTA said some parents preferred boys to rear cattle rather than go to school, in other cases boys made the choice themselves.

Although both girls and boys undertook agricultural labour, pupils said that parents preferred boys to do more of the farming and rear animals while girls carried out more home chores. One parent explained:

lyayen mu sun fi son maza su je gona suyi aiki, mata kuma suyi aikin gida. [Parents prefer boys to go and work at the farm while girls do home chores. Sometimes girls also go to the farm.].

A former pupil at the school said their agricultural labour was necessary to support the family, and in some cases paid for their own participation in school. He added that some children even had their own fields to cultivate.

Various community and LGEA sources stated that boys sometimes "run away" from the area to make money petty trading. The SS said that if they were unsuccessful, they tended to return to school. The SS explained: "Dropouts come back and they are accepted. When they return they are tested and placed in an appropriate class depending on their performance." Girls too, especially Muslim girls, the community stakeholder and ES mentioned, sometimes absent themselves to hawk goods.

Teachers and pupils confirmed that home chores, such as cooking and grinding corn, were also a major cause of lateness and absenteeism, particularly for girls. One teacher felt that Muslim girls were particularly affected; another thought both Muslim and Christian girls were affected. The SBMC thought that lateness through chores might be the cause of some girls' low performance in school exams and continuous assessment. One teacher pointed out that both Christian and Muslim girls sometimes dropped out of school to take care of a newborn child for their mother:

Mostly girls drop out especially when their mothers put to bed, they prefer to take them to farm to take care of the new born than allowing them to come to school; so they drop out.

Families (including religion, ethnicity and educational choice)

Homework was another area of difference between Christian and Muslim families that was singled out. Staff, PTA and SBMC respondents agreed that some educated Christian families helped their children with homework; one teacher pointed out that because Muslim parents were not able to, this resulted in poorer participation in school by Muslim children:

lyaye musulmi ba sukan kula da duba takardun yara idan sun dawo daga makaranta, amma yawanmu christa kam suna kokari. [Muslim parents do not always check pupils' books after school, but Christian parents are trying in this regard]. (male teacher)

Some Muslim pupils bemoaned the fact that they had nobody at home to help with their school work.

Pupils also blamed latecoming by some pupils, and especially boys, on playing around and going to sleep late, suggesting a lack of supervision by some parents. According to one male pupil: “Girls mostly come late because of home chores. They don’t wake up early in the morning because they stay longer in the night playing.” Parents themselves seemed to concur; one explained: “Children were sent to bed early before but now children stay awake until 10 to 12pm”. Some parents are also seemingly struggling to get pupils into school. One parent explained:

Some children will leave home in the morning to school, but idle out to play somewhere and sometimes do not reach the school at all and during break time they will go back home.

Pupils, however, reported that parents were expected to explain their child’s absence from school.

Ill health was also cited by pupils as a reason for absenteeism. The ES noted more generally that since poverty levels were high in the area pupils came to school hungry and often left class to find food. The former pupil thought that lack of parental commitment was a greater issue than poverty. “I believe that the actual reason for parents’ lack of interest is not poverty but lack of commitment.”

There were contradictory views on whether there were children in the community who had never been to school. Pupils interviewed said that all children in their homes were in school and that school was important for everyone. Some parents and the community stakeholder too were adamant that all children in the community had been to school at some stage: “*A nan kam ba yaron da baya zuwa makaranta*” [As far as this village is concerned, all our school age children have been enrolled into school.” The school supervisor was also of the view that the community appreciated the school. As one parent recounted:

I reared animals for 15 years near this same primary school. I listened to teaching through the window and sometimes gave answers when the teacher asked questions. I was noticed by the head teacher and [he] advised me to tell my father and that was how I started school very late.

On the other hand, numerous other school and community respondents, including some parents, reported that some Muslim children, and girls in particular, did not go to school. There was a general view that (some) Muslim parents, and Chamba Muslim parents in particular, perceived school to be a waste of time and believed that boys would be better off rearing cattle rather than being unemployed after school and that girls were not worth educating, either because they would be married or because of lack of job opportunities.

Some parents who have no education will prefer their children to do cattle rearing than attending school. *Akwai kyaliya a wuring iyaye*” [Some parents show I-don’t-care attitude toward education of their children. (community stakeholder)

Government should help educated youths with employment, if parents sees some one child gainfully employed, he will be encouraged to sent his child to school. But the way we are now, without employment, some parents will prefer their children to do cattle rearing than sending them to school to end up without employment. (male teacher).

One teacher singled out Chamba Muslim girls, in particular, as not going to school because of lack of job opportunities. The “I-don’t-care” attitude to schooling by some parents was thought by the SBMC to be responsible for the poor exam performance of some pupils.

Early marriage was another reason given by pupils for drop out by girls, according to pupils. One group of pupils reported that two girls in their class had done that. Parents said that girls generally married between the ages of 13 and 16 and that they rarely continued to secondary school. One parent explained: “Girls do not continue school after primary school due to poverty. They are married out before they become wayward.” The teachers said that at the JSS, pregnancies were “rampant”. One teacher expressed the view that the prospect of eventual marriage could discourage girls:

Here we say girls’ education ends up in their husband’s kitchen, so the girls know that whatever they do, they will end up getting married; they get discouraged about furthering their education.

Boys were thought to be more interested in school although some of the girls interviewed maintained the opposite (see Section 2.1 on *In the classroom*).

Although Doya was said to be the only primary school in the village, there was a girls’ school several kilometres away across a river. A girl encountered in the village who went to the all-girls school said she wanted to come to Doya because there was “more teaching” but her uncle did not want her to transfer. According to the school supervisor, parents were complaining about the lack of female teachers at that school, saying: “Only female teachers should teach there but because most female teachers stay where their husbands stay only male teachers are posted.” However, the situation was scarcely better in Doya. Teachers also pointed out that there were many Islamiyya schools in the village. Attendance at nursery school was considered an important foundation for pupils by both teachers and parents.

Pupils thought that education was important for girls and boys. No explicit statements were made by respondents about preferring to educate girls or boys; rather various respondents reported that some parents – particularly Muslim Chambas – preferred girls to help at home and/or get married, and boys to rear livestock (see above).

Community–school relations

Relations with the community were described as “cordial” by the head teacher and parents yet there were clearly issues of tension between the school and some sections of the community. Of primary concern to school management was the fact that animals were being brought through or kept on school premises. The head teacher said he had “tried the traditional leader on the matter, but at any time the matter is discussed it brings tension. I believe it has to be handled with care.” The head teacher was also hoping to get some land from the community to cultivate but admitted “land is a big problem in this community.”

Pupil lateness, absenteeism and dropout were also highlighted by various respondents as being important issues in school–community relations. Pupils thought that more collaboration between the school and parents, such as by inviting parents for dialogue, would help check pupil absenteeism and drop out. Teachers similarly called for greater “consultation with parents” to arrest repetition: “Let there be announcements telling children to come back to school. Their parents should be called upon so that they can be advised to bring their children to school.”

Nevertheless, interaction was clearly already taking place between the head teacher and some parents, at least, through PTA meetings. The parents interviewed said they could easily request an emergency PTA meeting with the head teacher through the PTA chair (also the ward head) and at the same time they reported that the head teacher informed them about government policies and decisions.

The community stakeholder too felt that the PTA had sufficient influence in the school, citing the fact that the head reported cases of latecoming, poor attendance and dropout by particular

pupils and consulted him on such matters. The SBMC was not mentioned by anyone in the school or community although SBMC members themselves said they talked to parents at meetings about pupil lateness and made home visits to encourage children to come to school and the ES maintained that the LGEA supervised the SBMC, which worked hard “hand in hand with the PTA”.

Community participation in school took place primarily through the PTA and payment of the PTA levy, which was ₦50 per term. Teachers confirmed that this had been used to help build and renovate classrooms. Parents also contributed by buying school materials, uniforms and giving money to children for breakfast. Parents said that while some parents bought exercise books, some did not because they were too poor, so some pupils stole books from others.

According to the head teacher, the main concerns of PTA meetings were how to address poor pupil performance, and drug abuse within the youth of the community. PTA and SBMC members reported working together and spending time making house-to-house enquiries encouraging parents to enrol and/or keep their children in school and on issues regarding poor performance. The community stakeholder also maintained that he went around coaxing pupils into school.

For the community, shortage of teachers was the most pressing issue. Parents said they were helping by collectively contributing ₦500 to ₦1,000 a month to pay for three retired school teachers to teach part-time. The head teacher also appealed for unpaid volunteers (see Section 2.1 on *School management of staff*).

Parents stated that they had also constructed a building for a nursery but could not afford the desks or chairs as they were at the limit of their financial capabilities. “*Yanzu community ma mun kasa, mun kusa bari.*” [Now the community can’t cope and is about to give up]. On the other hand, the former pupil, now a civil servant, thought that former pupils were not doing enough for the school (see section on *The LGEA*, below)

Some parents, they said, went to the school to confront teachers about their children being flogged:

Some teachers beat pupils excessively, which is not good because you may not know the health status of the child. Some children when you beat them excessively they may not come back to school.

Sai maman yaran su tashi su zo suna zagi [Some mothers do come to school to insults teachers when their children are beaten excessively.]

However, it was not clear how school management addressed the issue:

AIF2.3 The LGEA

LGEA internal relations

The ES thought greater co-operation from some of their subordinates would help them do their job better.

School governance

Teachers complained about poor pay and delayed payments, which the SS said he disbursed together with the head teacher.

As mentioned earlier (see Section 2.1 *School management of staff*), a shortage of teachers was a major issue of concern for various respondents. Parents said that they had complained to the school supervisor about teachers being transferred and not replaced: “Important teachers are

taken away; the school will collapse.” The SS also admitted that the recruitment of secondary school graduates – a number of whom were in the school – was a problem “since they do not know anything about teaching and do not know the method of teaching.” (See below on *School support*).

Teachers agreed that the ES and SS regularly visited the school, with the latter checking schemes of work, ensuring teachers were in class and monitoring the school, though there was disagreement as to how often. The SS reported visiting at least once a week, talking to the relevant people – the head teacher, community leader, PTA or SBMC, depending on the issue. The ES says he visited “regularly”. One teacher said they saw the SS once every two or three weeks and the ES once a term. The SS said they worked alongside the local government district committee, whose members assisted in inspecting schools, checking on teacher attendance, behaviour and teaching. “They assist in close monitoring.” The ES believed that constant and regular supervision of teachers would help improve teaching quality.

The need to increase government provision of free textbooks was widely identified as central to improving pupil learning by school, community and LGEA respondents although the ES maintained that instructional materials were distributed evenly across the schools. Teachers and the SBMC also complained that prescribed textbooks were changed too often and urged that they be used for at least a year. One SBMC member said: “Frequent changes of textbook constitute a major challenge in the school.” Free uniforms were also requested by parents and teachers, who asserted that they would help improve enrolment. Provision of free textbooks was also seen as an enrolment incentive by the ES, and a means of improving teaching quality. Head teachers were said to collect textbooks from the LGEA.

There was also a widespread call for government to provide more and better sports facilities, which various respondents said would encourage more pupils to come and stay in school. The school supervisor considered the lack of proper sports facilities to affect girls more than boys: “Boys can play anywhere but girls can’t.” Parents concurred: “The play field is stony and children can’t play on it; during break girls sit only or go home while boys play football in front of the classes, making a ball out of rags.” Another parent reminisced about having better play materials during their school days, which encouraged them to go to school:

Even if our parents didn’t want us to go to school, we sneaked from rearing animals and attended school because of play materials and different sports for boys and girls.

The ES considered SBMCs to be important hard-working bodies in school governance, which the LGEA supervised. He maintained that they worked “hand in hand” with the PTA in organising meetings and assisting schools with materials. The SBMC, which comprises 17 members (15 male, 2 female), confirmed that they work closely with the PTA and with the head teacher in the running of the school. However, no PTA, community or school respondents mentioned the SBMC in their interviews and the school was unable to specify dates of the last meetings.

School support

Teacher professional development is seen as vital to improving teaching quality by LGEA and school staff alike. Teachers want “regular workshops”, supervision and the prospect of promotion to encourage them to teach better. The SS said that teachers were released for further studies and that the LGEA had provided “mini workshops” for secondary school graduate teachers without the NCE to upgrade their qualifications.

LGEA–community relations

There was disagreement among respondents as to the degree of LGEA interaction with the community. Teachers reported that the ES and school supervisor attended PTA meetings. Parents too reported having formal and informal access to the school supervisor to air their views. Yet some PTA members interviewed maintained that they did not see LGEA officials, had no contact with them and were not consulted. “*Mu kam ES da Supervisor basu taba kiran mu ba. Su kan zo makaranta kawai*” [ES and school supervisor never called on us, but they do come to the school]. One parent said that they only see the ES at the end-of-year prize-giving. One PTA member also complained that school supervisors were not always qualified and that they could brag a lot and demonstrate tribalism.

Kwanakin baya an kawo wani supervisor wanda bai iya aiki ba sai nuna rigima da kishin kabilanci, yana so ya wargaza makarantan nan mai kyakkyawan tarihi” [In the past one young supervisor was posted here; he was not experienced; he was trying to show off, brags a lot demonstrating tribalism and wanting to scatter [destroy] this long-standing school with a good history].

The ES said he met with the communities regularly to solve problems although he also said he communicated with communities via the head teacher. He also believed greater community participation in running schools would help him to do his job better: “Communities should participate in running the school like in classroom construction, providing shelter to the schools; you know some communities do.” The community stakeholder, however, maintained that outside PTA meetings they were not consulted by the LGEA on matters: “*Ban da PTA, ba wanda ya taba tuntubanmu game ga makaranta*” [Apart from the PTA, no one ever consulted us on school issues].

The village head was identified by the SS as an important link between the community, school and LGEA, whom the SS said he often visits sometimes with the ES and DSS. The village head, the SS explained, helped to mobilise parents to enrol their children in school. According to the SS, some village heads even taxed parents who did not comply. The village head also visited schools and reported back to the ES on what he found in school. “This improves attendance” according to the SS, who recounted one such episode:

I visited a school and found nine pupils and the next day found five, so I reported to the village head and called for a meeting with all the parents and he urged them to send their children to school.

The former pupil interviewed maintained that it was also government’s responsibility to mobilise former pupils to increase their contributions to the school, which he currently said were “non-existent”. “The community needs to be mobilised by government. Old pupils need to participate more in the provision of infrastructure for the school and mobilising for enrolment.” However, LGEA officials thought that in general the presence of the LGEA at community meetings, sometimes in the church or mosque, had succeeded in mobilising community members to send their children to school, as has the use of town criers. To keep pupils at school, the SBMC suggests that government (and parents) should “tell them that if they do not go to school now they will be labourers in the future.”

AIF3. EDUCATIONAL ACCESS, QUALITY & PUPIL OUTCOMES – A SUMMARY

AIF3.1 Infrastructure and security

- The school had a shortage of classrooms (some teaching under shade) and classrooms of variable quality: some with leaking roofs, damaged floors and illegible chalkboards, which were said to affecting teaching quality.

- The school has no electricity or water supply. Although water is fetched from the community borehole and kept in buckets, pupils were said to leave school at break to get water elsewhere with some not returning. This is a widespread issue across the LGEA.
- The one toilet block was clean and safe but only for teachers' use. Pupils had to use the bush. It was suggested that some pupils went home to use the toilet and then did not return.
- Parents were helping to improve the learning environment by building and renovating classrooms through the PTA levy and by providing labour.
- A lack of fencing round the compound made it difficult to control access to the school premises, which was a matter of concern to all respondents.
- The resulting lack of security was said to encourage pupil truancy and absenteeism, allow encroachment by farmers, and vandalism of school property by youths.
- The stony compound/playing field was a source of complaint, prompting widespread calls for government to provide more and better sports and leisure facilities, for girls in particular, to encourage pupil enrolment and retention.

AlF3.2 Teacher management

- It was universally agreed that shortage of teachers (sometimes through transfer), especially qualified teachers, and female teachers, was a major issue in the school, prompting the community to pay for three part-time retired teachers and the school to seek out from the community voluntary teachers who had some training.
- Teacher morale was said to be low on account of poor and delayed pay, lack of opportunities for promotion and/or further study, and feeling neglected by government. There was sympathy from parents.
- Teacher absenteeism (especially on market days), latecoming and lack of lesson preparation were highlighted by some respondents and witnessed by researchers.
- The problem was said to be widespread across the LGEA.
- Teacher latecoming was also attributed to lack of accommodation in the village.
- The head teacher was absent on two out of four research visits on union business.
- There was recognition, by LGEA and school staff of teachers' need for further training and support to improve teaching quality.
- LGEA staff, and the SS in particular, were said to visit regularly (though opinion differed as to how often) to monitor teacher attendance, behavior and teaching.
- Absentee teachers were said to be reported to the LGEA and sometimes summoned to the ES to explain their absence and/or get a warning.
- The district education committee was said to be active and involved in school monitoring.

AlF3.3 Pupil management and pupil relations

- Pupils were said to be inspected twice a week at assembly and "social prefects" were in charge of regulating pupils' dress.
- Pupils were required to clean the school before lessons at 6.30am and undertake general cleaning for two hours on Fridays. All pupils complained about this, particularly girls who said boys were never made to sweep the classrooms.
- There was disagreement among teachers as to whether a discipline policy existed in the school though it was widely agreed that punishment was gender-differentiated with girls usually caned more lightly on the hand (and "sexually mature girls" not caned at all) and boys caned more harshly on the buttocks.
- Female teachers were said to punish female pupils where possible (though there is only one full-time female teacher in the school).

- Observations and interviews confirmed that corporal punishment was widely practised by teachers and prefects, especially on boys, which was said to deter some boys and girls from coming to school, and prompted some parents to confront teachers about the issue.
- Offences resulting in caning included latecoming, absenteeism, improper dress, being dirty, not doing homework, insulting parents or teachers, bullying or refusing to sweep the school.
- For “serious offences”, such as stealing or insulting teachers, pupils were reportedly publicly flogged at assembly.
- Other punishments included verbal reprimands and being made to kneel down or carry a stone.
- Pupils were seen freely leaving school at break without teacher intervention.
- Some teachers were said to check on absentee pupils at home since boys in particular sometimes refused to come to school.
- Long-term absentees – usually boys – who have left school to earn money farming or trading may return a year later and are tested and assigned to a year.
- Prefects are apparently selected based on classroom performance, especially in English, though size was also said to be a factor in some schools within the LGEA.
- A gender hierarchy existed among prefects with the head girl in charge of girls and the head boy in charge of boys and girls. Girls were generally seen to discipline girls and boys disciplined boys.
- The prefect system was highly specialized, e.g. social prefects (to regulate pupils’ dress), duty prefects (organizing sweeping and assembly), house captains (organizing sporting and other competitions) and the “office girl”.
- Pupils complained of a high level of fighting, bullying and teasing (e.g. about poor clothing, personal hygiene or poor marks) with older boys in school teasing those out of school.
- Both girls and boys were said to “tease”, but especially girls, though no evidence was gathered of the impact of this on pupil learning or school attendance.

AIF3.4 Teaching and learning

- Classroom overcrowding with inadequate seating was reportedly a major issue throughout the LGEA, which was said to impact negatively on pupil learning.
- In the two observations almost all pupils had writing materials but interviews suggested some parents couldn’t afford them (prompting some pupils to steal) and some pupils forgot them.
- Shortage of school textbooks was widely cited as a major barrier to learning in this school and across the LGEA though some parents provided books. Observations confirmed the shortage though a pile of books remained unused in one class.
- School and community respondents complained that prescribed textbooks were changed too frequently.
- The two classroom observations indicated that teaching made limited cognitive demands on pupils: one teacher monologued, demanding choral repetition; the other demanded some closed questioning.
- Learning in English was identified as a major obstacle to pupil learning (and difficult for one teacher) although some teachers code-switched extensively with Hausa, and also Chamba. Some pupils were said only to understand Chamba and Fulfulde.
- Pupils reported being punished for speaking in local languages.

- Girls and pupils were seated together on benches – though teased about being “husband and wife” – reflecting school policy aimed at prevent pupils from playing around, thereby aiding learning.
- There was very limited oral participation by pupils though a few female star female pupils were selected to answer questions. Teacher and pupil views were mixed on who participated more in class: teachers all thought boys did; girls said girls did; boys said boys did.
- Views were also mixed as to whether girls or boys generally did better in tests and exams though no data were provided to back up assertions.
- Some teachers reportedly gave rewards to pupils for good performance, which pupils said helped learning.
- As regards both pupil participation and performance gender stereotypes were invoked to explain gender patterns.
- Parents said some teachers skipped topics they couldn’t manage.
- Parents and LGEA officials bemoaned the lack of homework given and the fact that sometimes other family members did pupils’ homework.
- Some expressed the view that more formally educated Christian parents could help pupils with schoolwork whereas Muslim pupils sometimes had nobody to help them at home and this affected their learning.
- Bullying, “teasing” and noise by girls and boys (and fighting amongst boys) was widely reported and witnessed with little or no interference by teachers. Pupils complained it impeded learning.

AlF3.5 Socio-economic and family issues

- Poverty was a widely cited reason by all respondents for children’s involvement in agricultural labour, petty trading/hawking and (in the case of girls) early marriage, affecting participation in schooling.
- Pupil ill health and hunger were also said to be causes of pupil absenteeism.
- Child labour: boys and girls were reportedly needed for farming, trading and/or household chores resulting in lateness, absenteeism, and dropout.
- Overage enrolment in particular was ascribed to boys’ involvement in farming and cattle rearing.
- Girls’ participation and performance in school were said to be particularly affected by household chores, and looking after young siblings, though both boys and girls were said to have chores.
- Early marriage (13 to 16), often as a result of poverty, was given as a cause of dropout for some girls; pregnancy was said to be a major problem at JSS level.
- More frequent and long-term absenteeism occurred during April to October on account of families’ need for additional farming labour or availability of waged farming labour.
- Lack of parental supervision reportedly affected pupil attendance, especially among boys.
- Some parents were said to be unable to control (some) boys, who ran away from school regardless of parental wishes, to go petty trading, often returning to school if unsuccessful.
- It was variously reported that some Muslim children (especially Chamba Muslim children) and girls in particular, had never attended school because parents were variously thought to be uninterested in formal education or perceived it to be a waste of time given inevitable unemployment afterwards, or marriage, in the case of girls.
- Pupils who attended the school’s nursery (constructed by parents) were thought to get a good foundation.

AIF3.6 School–community relations (including LGEA involvement)

- School–community relations were said to be cordial but with tension between the school and some sections of the community, especially regarding animals being brought through/kept on the school premises, and pupils’ lateness, absenteeism and dropout.
- The PTA was said to be the main point of contact between the school and community, whose main concerns were said to be pupil performance and drug abuse among some of the youth.
- There was reportedly good communication between the PTA committee and the head teacher.
- Female participation on the the PTA committee (one) and SBMC (two) was minimal.
- The PTA was said to be actively involved with the school but none mentioned the SBMC (apart from the SBMC) although the LGEA considered SBMCs to be important for school governance.
- Pupils and teachers called for greater dialogue with parents to help stem repetition, absenteeism and dropout.
- The ₦50 termly PTA levy has been used to help build and renovate classrooms.
- There were widely differing views on the degree of contact the LGEA had with the PTA and on whether the LGEA consulted the community outside PTA meetings.
- Government provision of free textbooks and school uniforms were also widely requested, which respondents felt sure would increase enrolment and retention.
- The village head was identified by the LGEA as an important link between the LGEA and the community. Some village heads within the LGEA were said to tax parents if they did not send their children to school.

AIF3.7 Other

- Heavy rain prevented many pupils and teachers from coming to school.

APPENDIX IG

BAOBAB PRIMARY SCHOOL CASE STUDY REPORT

AIG1. CONTEXT AND QUANTITATIVE DATA

This is the case study report of Baobab Primary School in the context of the relevant LGEA and the school's local community. It is an urban school located in the Southern Senatorial Zone of the state.

Respondents

A mixture of formal group and individual interviews were held with 18 adults and 21 children, as indicated in Table AIG1.1. Same-gender group interviews were held with pupils (two female, two male), and group interviews were also held with parents, SBMC and PTA committee members. Other respondents were interviewed individually. The majority of respondents were Muslim and there were considerably more male respondents than female respondents, especially at the community and LGEA level.

Table AIG1.1 Baobab case study respondents

Participant group	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	TOTAL
School – staff (head teacher, teachers)	5	2	0	7	7
School – pupils	10	11	17	4	21
Community (parents, PTA, SBMC, community leader)	1	8	6	3	9
LGEA (including ES,SS)	0	2	0	2	2
TOTAL	16	23	23	16	39

AIG1.1 The LGA (LGEA)

Socio-demographic context

The LGA comprises a fairly large, primarily flat, rural area with a large urban centre, and has a population of under 100,000, according to the most recent census. It lies in the Southern Senatorial Zone, where there is substantial rice and maize farming. Two major rivers flow through the area, on the banks of which lie many of the LGA's village settlements. Migrant fishing communities also inhabit these areas. The population is of mixed religion and ethnicity; the main ethnic groups are the Hausa, Hausa-Fulani, Bachama and Mbula.

Local educational context

See main report, Chapter 4.

AIG1.2. The school community

Baobab Primary School is located in a low-income residential area on the outskirts of a major town, in a religiously and ethnically mixed community. The population of the local community is estimated at around 20,000, according to the head teacher, and there are several markets, places of worship and two medical facilities in the vicinity. Most parents are said to be farmers, who require extra seasonal labour primarily between June and December, though a few parents are civil servants. The major ethnic groups in the locality are Hausa, Hausa-Fulani, Mbula, Bachama,

Kanakuru, Bagudire, Baobiri and Waja; the Mbula and the Bachama are the indigenous ethnic peoples. The main local languages therefore are Hausa, Fulfulde, Bachama and Mbula with Hausa the main language of interaction within the community and in the school.

AI G1.3 The school

School description

Basic school information

Baobab Primary School lies on the main road on the outskirts of a major urban centre. It was founded in the 1940s and has a rapidly expanding intake of around 3,000 pupils, who are taught in two shifts. Most of the pupils come from the immediate community, estimated by the head teacher to be around 3,000, though some pupils live further afield, taking up to 30 minutes to reach the school. Although a mixed Christian and Muslim area, the majority of the population are Muslim Hausas involved in farming and some in fishing. This is reflected in the Muslim-Christian ratio of the pupil intake, of which 63.4% is currently Muslim and 36.6% is Christian. Female pupils account for 47.1% of enrolments whereas males account for 52.9%. There are no school fees but each pupil pays a PTA levy of ₦50 per term.

The staff

The head teacher is male and Christian. There are 72 other teaching staff. The distribution of the teachers (including the head teacher) by qualification, gender and religion is shown in Table AI G1.2 below. Over three quarters of the 73 teachers are female (79.5%) and over two thirds are qualified (68.5%). The vast majority (60.3%) have NCE while six (8.2%) are degree holders. Three other female and one male non-teaching member of staff are employed by the school.

Table AI G1.2: Teachers, including head teacher, by qualification and gender

	Qualifications	Female	Male	TOTAL
Qualified	Degree	6	0	6 (8.2%)
	NCE	33	11	44 (60.3%)
Unqualified	TC II	13	3	16 (21.9%)
	Others	6	1	7 (9.6%)
TOTAL		58 (79.5%)	15 (20.5%)	73

Statistics on educational access and pupil outcomes

Pupil enrolment

Table AI G1.3 below shows Boabab Primary School enrolment figures from 2007–8 to 2010–11 inclusive. Over these last four years, enrolments have almost doubled from 1578 in 2007–8 to 3058 in 2010–11, perhaps due, in part at least, to the reported success of the large-scale advocacy and sensitisation campaigns and new school infrastructure (see qualitative findings). There have consistently been more boys enrolled in school than girls with the gender gap widening slightly in the last two years although numbers for both boys and girls have increased dramatically. The female to male ratio has ranged from 45.5% to 48.4% for female pupils and 51.6% to 54.5% for male pupils with the gender gap widest in 2009–10. Similarly, there have consistently been more Muslim pupils in the school than Christian pupils, though the percentage dropped slightly from 64.5% in 2007–8 to 58.7% in 2009–10 before climbing back up to 63.4% in 2010–11. The proportional representation of all four social groups (Muslim girls, Muslim boys, Christian girls, and Christian boys), which is not presented in the table, has changed little over the four-year period; Muslim boys have consistently been the most numerous group, comprising around a third of all pupils enrolled (from 30.2% to 33.9% of enrolments). Muslim girls have then been the most numerous, followed by Christian boys and Christian girls, across the four years.

Table AIG1.3 Baobab Primary School enrolments by gender and religion 2007–8 to 2010–11

Year	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	TOTAL
2007–8	768 (48.4%)	819 (51.6%)	1024 (64.5%)	563 (35.5%)	1587
2008–9	950 (48.4%)	1014 (51.6%)	1154 (58.8%)	810 (41.2%)	1964
2009–10	896 (45.5%)	1072 (54.5%)	1156 (58.7%)	812 (41.3%)	1968
2010–11	1441 (47.1%)	1617 (52.9%)	1938 (63.4%)	1120 (36.6%)	3058

At the grade level across the years (see Tables AIG1.4 and AIG1.5) there are no clear patterns for overall enrolment. Considering particular cohorts of pupils over the four-year period, numbers have increased steadily, with some doubling in size. For example, a cohort of 214 Primary 1 pupils in 2007–8 increased steadily over the next two years to become a group of 575 in 2010–11; similarly a group of 212 Primary 2 pupils got larger over the next two years to result in a Primary 5 cohort of 573 in 2010–11. Still, there are some improbably large jumps in enrolment, which raise concerns about the reliability of some of the figures, especially when taken together with dropout figures (see Tables AIG1.9 and AIG1.10). For example, a cohort of 348 in Primary 2 in 2009–10 escalated to 630 in Primary 3 in 2010–11, which seems particularly improbable if the 58 dropouts recorded for the year are correct. Even more unlikely, the 46 Christian pupils recorded for Primary 5 in 2007–8, which had apparently reduced to 21 by the end of the year through dropout, shot up to 130 for Primary 6 the following year. In addition, there are a number of unlikely round numbers. For example, it seems highly improbable that exactly 200 Muslim pupils registered for Primary 3 and 5 for two years in succession (2007–8 and 2008–9).

Table AIG1.4 Baobab Primary School enrolment by gender and grade 2007–8 to 2010–11

Level	2007–8			2008–9			2009–10			2010–11		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
P1	108 (50.5%)	106 (49.5%)	214	132 (50.8%)	128 (49.2%)	260	132 (47.7%)	145 (52.3%)	277	240 (50.5%)	292 (61.5%)	532
P2	108 (50.9%)	104 (49.1%)	212	154 (49.0%)	160 (51.0%)	314	156 (44.8%)	192 (55.2%)	348	150 (46.3%)	174 (53.7%)	324
P3	160 (47.6%)	176 (52.4%)	336	180 (49.5%)	184 (50.5%)	364	153 (43.6%)	198 (56.4%)	351	290 (46.0%)	340 (54.0%)	630
P4	154 (44.5%)	192 (55.5%)	346	164 (45.1%)	200 (54.9%)	364	167 (45.6%)	199 (54.4%)	366	220 (42.7%)	295 (57.3%)	515
P5	128 (52.0%)	118 (48.0%)	246	166 (46.4%)	192 (53.6%)	358	153 (45.5%)	183 (54.5%)	336	292 (51.0%)	281 (49.0%)	573
P6	110 (47.2%)	123 (52.8%)	233	154 (50.7%)	150 (49.3%)	304	135 (46.6%)	155 (53.4%)	290	249 (51.4%)	235 (48.6%)	484
Total	768 (48.4%)	819 (51.6%)	1587	950 (48.4%)	1014 (51.6%)	1964	896 (45.5%)	1072 (54.5%)	1968	1441 (47.1%)	1617 (52.9%)	3058

Table AIG1.5 Baobab Primary School enrolment by religion and grade 2007–8 to 2010–11

Level	2007–8			2008–9			2009–10			2010–11		
	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	Total	Mus	Chr	Total
P1	118 (55.1%)	96 (44.9%)	214	160 (61.5%)	100 (38.5%)	260	174 (62.8%)	103 (37.2%)	277	360 (75.8%)	115 (36.2%)	532
P2	134 (63.2%)	78 (36.8%)	212	200 (63.7%)	114 (36.3%)	314	192 (55.2%)	156 (44.8%)	348	170 (52.5%)	154 (47.5%)	324
P3	200 (59.5%)	136 (40.5%)	336	200 (54.9%)	164 (45.1%)	364	210 (59.8%)	141 (40.2%)	351	400 (63.5%)	230 (36.5%)	630
P4	212 (61.3%)	134 (38.7%)	346	220 (60.4%)	144 (39.6%)	364	237 (64.8%)	129 (35.2%)	366	341 (66.2%)	174 (33.8%)	575
P5	200 (81.3%)	46 (18.7%)	246	200 (55.9%)	158 (44.1%)	358	197 (58.6%)	139 (41.4%)	336	400 (69.8%)	173 (30.2%)	573
P6	160 (68.7%)	73 (31.3%)	233	174 (57.2%)	130 (42.8%)	304	146 (50.3%)	144 (49.7%)	290	267 (55.2%)	217 (44.8%)	484
TOTAL	1024 (64.5%)	563 (35.5%)	1587	1154 (58.8%)	810 (41.2%)	1964	1156 (58.7%)	812 (41.3%)	1968	1938 (63.4%)	1120 (36.6%)	3058

Overage pupils

The figures for overage pupils are clearly unreliable so not presented here. For each of the six grades across all four social groups for the year 2007–8, 20 out of the 24 figures for overage pupils equalled or exceeded the number of pupil enrolments for that category. Similar patterns were evident for the other three years.

Pupil attendance

Tables AIG1.6 and AIG1.7 below illustrate the number of pupil days absent per term by gender and religion for the three-year period 2007–8 to 2009–10. The number of days pupils were reportedly absent decreased from a total of 778 in 2007–8, to 762 in 2008–9 before increasing to 986 in 2009–10 though the average number of days absent per pupil remained much the same moving from 0.5, down to 0.4 and back up to 0.5. More absences were recorded for male pupils in 2007–8, but more for female pupils in the subsequent two years. Similarly there were more recorded absences for Muslim pupils than for Christian pupils in all three years, which is unsurprising given the substantial numerical superiority of Muslim pupils within the school. However, the qualitative data indicate high levels of pupil absenteeism, suggesting that these figures represent considerable underestimations.

Table AIG1.6 Baobab Primary School number of days absent by term and by gender 2007–8 to 2009–10

	Gender	2007–8	2008–9	2009–10	TOTAL
First term	Female	163	206	201	570
	Male	189	158	190	537
Second term	Female	134	136	134	382
	Male	123	107	141	371
Third term	Female	81	74	168	320
	Male	88	81	152	321
Annual totals		778 (F:378; M:400)	762 (F:416; M:346)	986 (F:503; M:483)	

Table 1.7 Baobab Primary School days absent by term and by religion 2007–8 to 2009–10

	Religion	2007–8	2008–9	2009–10	TOTAL
First term	Muslim	214	231	230	675
	Christian	141	133	161	435
Second term	Muslim	123	127	150	400
	Christian	134	116	125	375
Third term	Muslim	81	79	179	339
	Christian	88	76	141	305
Annual totals		781 (Mu:418; Ch:363)	762 (Mu:437; Ch:325)	986 (Mu:559; Ch:427)	

Pupil dropout

Dropout rates for the years 2007–8 to 2009–10, as set out in Table AIG1.8, would appear to be more in line with the high number of dropouts that the qualitative data indicate. As with the absences, the number of dropouts initially fell from 251 in 2007–8 to 237 in 2008–9, before rising again to 287 in 2009–10 though the dropout rate has declined marginally over time. Female pupils recorded more dropouts in all three years than male pupils, both numerically and as a proportion of enrolments. More Christian pupils than Muslim pupils dropped out of school during the first two years though more Muslim pupils dropped out in 2009–10. However, given the higher enrolment numbers for Muslim pupils, this still constituted a slightly lower dropout rate than for Christians. Looking at particular social groups (not presented in the table), female Muslim pupils have recorded the highest number of dropouts in all three years though only marginally so.

Table AIG1.8 Baobab Primary School pupil dropout and dropout rate by gender and religion 2007–8 to 2009–10

Year	Female	Male	Muslim	Christian	Total dropouts	Overall dropout rate*
2007–8	150 (19.5%)	101 (12.3%)	115 (11.2%)	136 (24.2%)	251	15.8%
2008–9	136 (14.3%)	101 (10.0%)	117 (10.1%)	120 (14.8%)	237	12.1%
2009–10	146 (16.3%)	141 (13.2%)	165 (14.3%)	122 (15.0%)	287	14.6%

*Number of dropouts as a percentage of the number of enrolments for the year.

Tables AIG1.9 and AIG1.10 show the dropout figures and rates by grade and by gender, and by grade and by religion, respectively. Considering Table AIG1.9's dropout figures by grade, for the first two years the highest dropout was recorded in Primary 1, with the number of dropouts decreasing in Primary 2 and the lowest dropout figures occurring in Primary 6. In 2009–10 dropouts increased steadily over the first three grades, then decreased over the next three grades, also recording the lowest dropout figures in Primary 6, though several of the single digit figures for dropouts in Primary 6 seem improbable given the other figures and patterns. However, the figures do not tally with the enrolment figures (though the reliability of the enrolment statistics, as mentioned earlier, is also in doubt) even if dropout figures do not include pupils who do not register for the following year. For example 46 Christian pupils were enrolled in Primary 5 in 2007–8, of which almost half (21) were said to have dropped out. Yet, 130 Christian pupils were apparently registered for Primary 6 the following year. This would suggest that over 80% of Christian pupils for that grade were either new entrants, which is unlikely for a final year, or repeaters from the previous Primary 6 cohort. This again is unlikely given that only 73 Christian pupils were reportedly enrolled for that grade the previous year, of which 24 were said to have dropped out.

Table AIG1.9 Baobab Primary School pupil dropout and dropout rate by gender and grade 2007–8 to 2009–10

Level	2007–8			2008–9			2009–10		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
P1	27 (25.0%)	24 (22.6%)	51 (23.8%)	34 (25.8%)	20 (15.6%)	54 (20.8%)	22 (16.7%)	25 (17.2%)	47 (17.0%)
P2	21 (19.4%)	16 (15.4%)	37 (17.5%)	17 (11.0%)	22 (13.8%)	39 (12.4%)	30 (19.2%)	28 (14.6%)	58 (16.7%)
P3	27 (16.9%)	19 (10.8%)	46 (13.7%)	26 (14.4%)	17 (9.2%)	43 (11.8%)	32 (20.9%)	28 (14.1%)	60 (17.1%)
P4	23 (14.9%)	20 (10.4%)	43 (12.7%)	26 (15.9%)	17 (8.5%)	43 (11.5%)	28 (16.8%)	31 (15.6%)	59 (16.1%)
P5	35 (27.3%)	14 (11.9%)	49 (19.9%)	17 (10.2%)	20 (10.4%)	37 (10.3%)	32 (20.9%)	24 (13.1%)	56 (16.7%)
P6	17 (15.5%)	8 (6.5%)	25 (10.7%)	16 (10.4%)	5 (3.3%)	21 (6.9%)	2 (81.0%)	5 (3.2%)	7 (2.4%)
TOTAL	150 (19.5%)	101 (12.3%)	251 (15.8%)	136 (14.3%)	101 (10.0%)	237 (12.1%)	146 (16.3%)	141 (13.2%)	287 (14.6%)

Table AIG1.10 Baobab Primary School pupil dropout and dropout rate by religion and grade 2007–8 to 2009–10

Level	2007–8			2008–9			2009–10		
	Mu	Ch	Total	Mu	Ch	Total	Mu	Ch	Total
P1	31 (26.3%)	20 (20.8%)	51 (23.8%)	30 (18.8%)	24 (24.0%)	54 (20.8%)	30 (17.2%)	17 (16.5%)	47 (17.0%)
P2	18 (13.4%)	19 (24.4%)	37 (17.5%)	22 (11.0%)	17 (14.9%)	39 (12.4%)	38 (19.8%)	20 (12.8%)	58 (16.7%)
P3	24 (12.0%)	22 (16.2%)	46 (13.7%)	19 (9.5%)	24 (14.6%)	43 (11.8%)	31 (14.8%)	29 (20.6%)	60 (17.1%)
P4	17 (8.0%)	26 (19.4%)	43 (12.7%)	19 (8.6%)	24 (16.7%)	43 (11.5%)	33 (13.9%)	26 (20.2%)	59 (16.1%)
P5	24 (12.0%)	25 (54.3%)	49 (19.9%)	17 (8.5%)	20 (12.7%)	37 (10.3%)	32 (16.2%)	24 (17.3%)	56 (16.7%)
P6	1 (0.6%)	24 (32.9%)	25 (10.7%)	10 (5.7%)	11 (8.5%)	21 (6.9%)	1 (1.7%)	6 (4.2%)	7 (2.4%)
TOTAL	115 (11.2%)	136 (24.2%)	251 (15.8%)	117 (10.1%)	120 (14.8%)	237 (12.1%)	165 (14.3%)	122 (15.0%)	287 (14.6%)

Pupil performance

According to performance data displayed in Table AIG1.11, for the three-year period 2007–8 to 2009–10 marks have ranged from 20% to 70% across the social groups though the top marks recorded in each social category has predominantly been under 50%. Over the period the overall top mark has steadily decreased while the range of bottom marks has improved from 20–30% in the first two years to 27–38% in 2009–10. Although the generally low spread of marks seems in line with what the qualitative data suggest about low performance of pupils in assessment, there is some concern about the reliability of the marks. For example, it seems improbable that the marks of 73 Christian boys in Primary 6 during 2007–8 all fit into a range of six marks (20–26%); even more unlikely is the idea that the marks of 137 male Muslim pupils in 2009–10 fit into a three-mark range (38–40%).

Table AIG1.11 Baobab Primary School pupil performance by gender and religion 2007–8 to 2009–10

Year	Marks	Female		Male		Overall range of marks
		Muslim	Christian	Muslim	Christian	
2007–8	top mark	40	30	70	26	26–70
	bottom mark	20	20	30	20	20–30
2008–9	top mark	60	40	60	40	40–60
	bottom mark	40	23	30	20	20–30
2009–10	top mark	40	40	40	47	40–47
	bottom mark	28	27	38	30	27–38

AIG2. QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

AIG2.1. The school

General school issues

School buildings and facilities

Baobab Primary School is located in a large compound, which is shared with a feeder pre-school and abuts the main road. A road connecting the local community and the main road bisects the compound, which is prone to flooding in the rainy season. The school has been recently renovated so has good, modern facilities including 25 well furnished classrooms with cement floors, doors and windows, a head teacher's office and a staff room. All classes are taught in rooms with functioning doors, windows and smooth cement floors. There is electricity in all classrooms, which has both lights and fans, although neither was needed during any of the research visits. The head teacher's office has notices on the wall and possesses a first-aid kit although the community leader thought the school needed a clinic. The staffroom contains three chairs and two tables though staff preferred to sit outside under the trees.

There is, however, very limited shade and no water source on the compound, an issue of concern brought up by staff, pupils and the community stakeholder. Staff said that pupils are supposed to bring water with them from home; however, both staff and pupils admitted that some pupils left school at break, ostensibly in search of water, but that many failed to return, which observations subsequently confirmed.

The school also possesses a well-stocked library and a computer suite. However, no pupils were seen using either the library or the computer rooms during any of the visits and indeed pupils complained that they had asked to use the computers but maintained that only staff and paying outsiders were allowed to use them.

There are six VIP toilet blocks, at the far end of the compound. On research visits, three were locked and two were in very poor condition and surrounded by excreta. This, as the SBMC pointed out, effectively means that pupils have no toilets. The area was also the hang-out of some drug-taking male youths, whose intimidating presence was evident even during school hours (see section on *Security* below).

Although the school has a wall surrounding the large compound, the gate was frequently broken (as it was on all research visits) and, as mentioned above, there is effectively a road running between the main school site and the pre-school, which is a major thoroughfare connecting the community and the main road.

Although the immediate vicinity of the classrooms was fairly neat and tidy, the rest of the compound was exceedingly dirty. Piles of rubbish lay in the corners, which pupils and staff confirmed had been dumped by community members, despite requests from the head: “We have tried to stop refuse dumping in the school by the community but they still do”. The head also pointed out that some community members used the compound as a toilet: “If you go round the edge of the wall you will see people’s faeces.” Observations confirmed this and the fact that there was a lot of litter, including excreta, across the compound. The area surrounding the toilets was particularly bad. Pre-school teachers explained that the situation worsens during the rainy season when the compound, which slopes down from the road, floods. LGEA officials, however, thought the compound was “clean enough”; the SS said that he “tried to see that the school environment is well kept and devoid of dangerous things that will cause injury to pupils.” The ES and head teacher both mentioned the fact that flowers had been planted but had been eaten by goats. Teachers complained about the dirtiness of the compound, which they blamed on interference by some community members.

Some of the compound was used as a football pitch and was said to be used for other sports, though none were witnessed on research visits.

The community leader thought that improved school facilities would help improve retention:

Providing shades for pupils to rest and eat during break, play materials. Even though our school cannot be like other schools but we would like our school to have upstairs and beautify the school like other schools in the state.

Security

Security was a major issue in the school, and was raised as such by most school and community respondents (though not mentioned by the LGEA) especially with regards to repairing the main gate, which remained broken, hanging off its hinges throughout the six-month research period. As highlighted above, there was a major thoroughfare running across the compound, bisecting the compound and separating the main school and pre-school area. At all times of the day, pedestrians, cyclists, and motorcyclists passed through the school compound at will. According to the head teacher, a temporary security guard was employed by the LGEA but had stopped work as he had not been paid for a long time. The head teacher had also asked the LGEA for building blocks to make the wall higher so that it cannot be climbed.

The head teacher explained that the main gate and the hole in the wall leading directly to the community were repaired periodically but were always broken again, to reopen the access route from the community to the main road. “We have blocked the passage dug through the school wall and have tried to stop people from passing or driving through the school compound but they still do,” he said.

There were two other smaller official entrances and several holes in the compound wall. According to staff and the SBMC, these were made by community members to create shortcuts from homes to the main road through the school although the community stakeholder pointed out that some community members had helped repair one of the damaged walls.

Pupils complained about classrooms being vandalised and about outsiders passing through the school.

Duty teachers try to control access via the main gate when pupils arrived for school in the morning but after assembly once lessons started, the broken gate was left unguarded. Hawkers – predominantly young girls of school-going age and women – were allowed into the compound at

break to sell goods but were sent away afterwards. However, given the lack of security, some continued to loiter even after classes had restarted. Some female pupils were even seen hawking goods in the classrooms during lessons.

At the same time, the porous perimeter means that pupils could easily slip out of school, which a couple of respondents highlighted. As mentioned above, pupils often sneaked out at break, but many did not return. On one occasion only eight primary six girls re-entered the classroom after break while a group of boys played football outside and the teacher was nowhere to be seen.

Another security concern was the intimidating cluster of male youths observed sitting and lying around near the toilets taking drugs, even during school hours. They were seen interacting freely with some of the older school boys. On one research visit, a young man was found asleep outside the toilets; on another the researcher was chased away. According to the PTA and several teachers, the youths were responsible for making the holes in the compound wall. One female teacher explained: “Some bad boys from the community break the wall to create a passage.... And you know these bad boys also use the school as a hiding place in the evening to smoke and take drugs”. According to the ES the issue had been reported to the traditional leader.

In addition, the head teacher said the school suffered from local “area boys” from outside the immediate community, who sat on the wall in the morning before school and verbally abused pupils, kicking out at them if they answered back, to prevent them from arriving at school early. He explained that they sometimes even entered the school to force pupils out of the classrooms. He said, the LGEA was aware of the issue but felt powerless to prevent it since the boys reportedly come from round the nearby motor park.

School routines

Since the school operates a double shift system, lessons are timetabled to start at 8am and finish at noon. Primary 1, 2 and 6 are taught in the morning, alongside the nursery school classes, and Primary 3, 4 and 5 are taught in the afternoon (12 to 4). Breakfast for the morning shift is 9.30–10am. Assemblies occur on Mondays, Wednesday and Fridays at 7.30am, held under the school’s large trees, which provide the school’s only shade, close to the main blocks. In the assembly area there is a flagpole and a flag that is lowered and raised by the male timekeeping prefect. The timekeeper was also observed ringing a metal car part, which dangles from one of the trees and serves as a bell.

On the day assembly was observed the male duty teacher conducted affairs, as was usual. Pupils lined up according to grade and gender with taller and older pupils generally at the back. There appeared to be more girls than boys present and teachers led Islamic followed by Christian prayers.

School cleaning is done by the morning shift from 6.30am and some Muslim pupils reportedly arrive at school at 5am to do their share of the cleaning and then return home for Qur’anic school before returning to the school. Labour day is Friday, when pupils clean the whole school under the supervision of prefects between 7.30am and 9.30am.

School management of staff

According to the head teacher, the school has a sufficient number of teachers and all teachers, except for the instructors of IRK and CRK, have the minimum NCE requirement, though the information given on the school–community profile form contradicts this. Even so, the head teacher says he encourages his teachers to apply for further studies.

There are several positions of responsibility in the school, e.g. for health, games and quizzes, all held by women. Only the teacher in charge of labour was male. The two rotating duty teachers were in charge of discipline. The “headmistress”, a Christian, acts as the deputy head. The head is also Christian.

Teacher absenteeism was said to be an issue. In fact one teacher considered teacher absenteeism, “nonchalance” and latecoming to be the main challenges faced by the school. Several teachers were observed arriving late to school and some did not return to class after break because, as one teacher put it: “all the pupils have dispersed”. However, the SS maintained that it is a general problem that teachers’ irregular attendance contributed to pupils’ poor attendance. Although LGEA officials thought that “teachers are trying”, they asserted that the quality of education within the LGEA was being affected by the absenteeism, latecoming and inadequate lesson planning of some teachers. In particular, the ES believed, teacher and pupil absenteeism lowered the morale and ultimately the performance of other teachers. The head teacher said he talked to teachers and gave them a verbal warning if teachers were persistently late or absent, and tried to talk to the teachers’ friends; if that failed, he says he reported the person to the SS.

Teachers were observed sitting outside class, in gender-segregated groups, at all times of the school day. Although the head maintained that teachers only sat about outside when they did not have lessons or during break, reports from parents, pupils and even some teachers confirmed that this was always not the case. All pupil groups reported that (some) teachers, and female teachers in particular, missed lessons and spent more time chatting under trees than in class.

No! Our teachers don’t teach in the same way, the male teachers teach very well and they explain very well but you see the female teachers always rush out of lessons and just sit under the tree most times. They will be eating groundnuts and drinking ‘*kunun zaki*’ drink made from grains.
(pupil)

It was the responsibility of duty teachers (and prefects) to watch for and discipline latecomers in the morning and truants. Pupils said the head teacher also ensured that teachers and pupils were in class for lessons. Both girls and boys, but predominantly boys, were seen loitering in the compound rather than returning to class after break. Some boys were even seen playing football. Several teachers were observed flogging pupils and shouting at them to get them into class. Female teachers more than male teachers were seen shouting at pupils but then female teachers were far more numerous in the school. During break itself, teachers, even duty teachers, tended not to intervene if pupils were fighting or bullying but both male and female teachers were seen flogging pupils who tried to leave the compound.

School management of pupils

The LGEA was adamant that corporal punishment was “prohibited within the authority” even though schools did not have a written document. Instead pupils were asked to carry out menial tasks such as weeding, picking up litter, sweeping the compound, fetching water etc. though parents could be summoned to school if the offence is serious. The head teacher was of the view that the code of conduct in the teacher’s handbook specified that “only the head teacher is permitted to determine punishment given to pupils in the school” therefore although he admitted he sometimes used corporal punishment, and allowed the “senior mistress” to physically discipline girls, he maintained that teachers were not allowed to beat pupils.

However, in practice both teachers and prefects caned pupils. All pupils groups maintained that male teachers did most of the flogging though female and male teachers and prefects were all

observed caning pupils. Pupils said they were beaten for coming late to school, fighting, stealing, noise-making, and missing class etc., and that girls were generally caned on the palm or the back of the legs whereas boys were caned on the buttocks, which observations confirmed. Teachers said that bullying was also punished. Other punishments, pupils said, included sweeping the compound, kneeling down (in class), picking up litter (especially for girls) and frog-jumping (mainly for boys). Although some pupils reported that some male teachers used abusive language, pupils generally thought that punishments were fair in the school and indeed that treating pupils equally and fairly was the mark of a good teacher.

On the Monday an assembly was witnessed; a male prefect was observed bringing the predominantly female latecomers to a female teacher to be caned on the hand. Pupils were inspected for neatness (nails, hair, mouth and uniform) and made to hold their hands out for inspection; the majority were caned on the hand until the head intervened. Pupils were publicly flogged for not paying PTA levies.

However, there was also fairly widespread recognition that corporal punishment was a cause of absenteeism and dropout as the following comments illustrate:

Corporal punishment can deter pupils from coming to school (school supervisor)

Pupils drop out after being punished or [being] requested to bring parents [to witness their beating] after committing an offence. (head teacher)

The head teacher also explained how corporal punishment could lead to pupils dropping out of school:

You know it is very bad for a teacher to use negative words for the children when they can't give answers to question asked such as 'shame', it will make the child to withdraw them self because other children will laugh at them. A teacher should use words like 'fair, who can help him/her', which will encourage them, or when a teacher give children lashes in front of other child, it will discourage them from coming to school the next day. You see this is what I call 'negative teaching'.

There were mixed views as to whether more girls or boys dropped out because of being beaten. At the same time, there was evidence of parental approval (at least by some) of corporal punishment and a couple of cases were recounted in which parents specifically asked the school to beat their child. One parent emphatically declared:

Children will not be obedient if they are not flogged. That is the best way to discipline children. I begged the teachers to report to me if my child refuses to come to school. I will flog the child and bring him to school and request the school to flog him again. If a child comes home to tell me that my teacher has flogged me, I'll tell the child to greet the teacher for me.

Prefects and monitors, who were selected by the class teacher according to "performance", also assisted teachers in disciplining, including beating, other pupils.

Staff also reported positive reward policies: the head teacher said prizes are awarded termly for punctuality and teachers bought stationery as prizes for good performance in class, which he believed had helped boost enrolment.

However, although discipline was strict in some respects, very little seemed to be done about pupils disappearing from school after break, or even teachers not teaching.

Pupil–pupil relations

Pupils tended to play at break in gender-segregated groups and often according to age, though not necessarily religion. Boys were seen playing football and girls were observed playing clapping and catching games. Some boys were seen fighting and bullying other boys while others were seen harassing or laughing at girls. Teachers intervened where they saw something going on but there were cases where the teacher was unaware. Pupils themselves acknowledged that pupils teased each other and that (some) boys in particular teased girls, and, according to one teacher, sometimes beat girls. One teacher also noted that prefects also bullied other pupils.

Overage pupils, according to some staff, were generally treated well and interacted well with other pupils though one teacher thought they were teased.

In the classroom

Classroom conditions and resources

Pupils confirmed that the good condition of the classrooms was what they most liked about the school. Apart from one pot-holed floor, the rooms were all in good condition with smooth cement floors, functioning windows and doors, desks for teachers and clear chalkboards, legible from the back of the room. All the walls were bare. The PTA expressed satisfaction at the renovations to the school carried out by government, which the ES considered to be a factor in having reduced dropout. However, he acknowledged that some schools in the LGEA lacked classrooms and/or suffered from overcrowding.

In all observed lessons, no pupils had textbooks though almost all had exercise books and the vast majority had pens. Girls were in the majority for those that did not have a pen. In one lesson, a female teacher gave a pen to one girl, ignored another and sent four boys without a pen to go and buy one. Another female teacher was also seen giving money to a girl to buy an exercise book. Some pupils, and girls in particular, had school bags, some of which were improvised. However, the SBMC complained that some pupils did not have the requisite stationery; staff explained that they constantly had to remind parents at PTA meetings to buy writing materials for their children, which the PTA confirmed. However, the PTA also noted that most pupils who were sent home to purchase stationery but were unable to afford it then dropped out of school.

All teachers had sufficient chalk but explained that they did not use teaching aids because of low and/or delays in pay, which meant that they couldn't afford the necessary materials. All teachers were observed with a teacher's handbook and some were observed teaching from the textbook in class. Although the head teacher thought that textbooks were given out in class and collected in at the end of the lesson, teachers and pupils said that this did not happen, both arguing that the textbooks would be ruined if used in class. "Pupils will destroy them if they are given", one pupil said. The few pupils whose parents bought the textbooks reportedly used them and were encouraged to share in class.

Government provision of textbooks and chalk was confirmed to be generally good across the LGEA though a few schools were said to be lacking. The SS also said schools sometimes had to be provided with materials such as chalk. However, the problem of some pupils coming to school without exercise books or pens was clearly widespread across the LGEA.

Seating arrangements

In the six observed lessons, class sizes ranged from 20 to 27 (7–17 girls; 7–18 boys) with slightly more girls than boys present in class for four out of the six lessons. However, the actual numbers of pupils enrolled in the classes were much higher, which perhaps explains one respondent's comments that more classrooms were needed to cope with increasing school enrolments. There

was no overcrowding in classes with pupils generally seated three, and occasionally four, to a bench. Seats attached to benches were all in good condition and arranged in the same way across classes, in rows and columns with two aisles.

Seating was generally gender-segregated with female pupils occupying the benches by the door in all six lessons. Larger pupils were seen at the back of some classes. In a couple of classes girls were seen squeezed onto a bench in order to sit together rather than be seated next to a boy. Similarly, in one class a boy squatted down at the back of the class rather than share a bench with girls at the front of the class. Teachers explained that pupils regrouped if teachers tried to organise mixed seating, which was also observed in most classes; all teachers thought preference for gender-segregation was for religious reasons among Muslim pupils, and in order to be with friends. Pupils confirmed they liked to sit in same-gender groups but gave alternative explanations. Boys claimed that girls copied their work if they were sitting beside them, whereas girls complained that boys teased them about being the wife of the boy they were next to. In one class some boys were heard teasing girls that they were dirty.

Male pupil: We don't like sitting near girls because they are girls.

Researcher: Why?

Male pupil: They run away from us because they are shy, they feel uncomfortable, and they will disrespect us.

All pupils denied sitting according to religion but said that they chose friends who were either home neighbours or school friends, though immediate neighbours tended to be of the same religion. Nevertheless, most teachers thought that Muslim girls in particular preferred to stick together.

Pedagogy (including teacher–pupil relations)

The six lessons observed involved traditional didactic teaching with teachers predominantly at the front of the class by the board lecturing at pupils. This was interspersed with a minimal amount of individual and/or choral questioning and occasional choral repetition, though the amount of interaction varied among classes. In the classes observed, a couple of teachers directed individual questions to both girls and boys, whereas a couple focused more on either girls or boys. A couple of teachers made a point of insisting that (some) girls answered questions: “I want a girl to answer this question now, no not you! I want a girl to give me the answer,” one teacher said. Pupils reported that some girls stopped coming to school on account of being teased, generally by boys, if they were unable to give the correct answer. Teachers’ opinions were divided on whether girls or boys participated more in class; boys’ low participation was attributed to their “playfulness” and being “weak”, girls’ to their “shyness”.

Pupils said that teachers generally did not like pupils asking questions. One female teacher reportedly told the class: “If you have understood fine; if you haven’t, ask those that do.”

Pupils were also asked to copy notes or exercises from the board in several classes and solve problems. Some teachers monitored pupil activity as they wrote. In one Maths class, exercise books were collected in by the teacher, but 15 out of the 27 pupils had not finished the task. Teachers were also seen giving homework, which the SBMC and community leader considered to be signs of good teaching.

Most classes were conducted in a mix of English and Hausa, though to varying degrees. Sometimes the teacher asked questions in English and the pupils answered in Hausa, which sometimes caused pupils to be reprimanded. In one class the teacher began in English and pupils

showed little understanding and there was hardly any oral participation. Only one boy was able to answer a question in English. However, once the teacher switched to Hausa, pupil participation increased, albeit to a limited extent, mainly involving choral responses. Pupils all said they preferred to learn in Hausa though they wanted to learn English. Most of the teachers said they found teaching in English difficult but said they also used Hausa. The majority thought that although some pupils enjoyed being taught in English, other pupils became discouraged while one teacher identified pupils' poor communication skills as a major barrier to pupil learning.

Teacher–pupil relations varied; some teachers appeared formal, and/or indifferent whereas others seemed friendly. There was general agreement among pupils that male teachers “teach better” because they took the time to explain more whereas female teachers were often in a hurry to leave the class and sat around under the trees.

Teachers admitted that sometimes teachers skipped parts of the lesson if they found it too difficult to teach, which was a view echoed by the SS

Pupil performance

The SS was of the view that pupil performance in general across their schools was “not encouraging” although most teachers thought that girls generally performed better in tests and exams. The head teacher thought this was because boys were often “not attentive”. One teacher also singled out overage pupils as a group that often did not perform well, which she attributed to their feeling self-conscious about their age. The community leader, in contrast, thought that both girls and boys did well at school.

Discipline

No caning was witnessed during any of the observed classes although all schools and community respondents agreed that corporal punishment was used for disciplining pupils (see earlier section on *School management of pupils*). For a number of pupils not beating or shouting at pupils was an important quality of a good teacher. However, teachers said they also disciplined pupils by making them kneel down for a long time, weed the compound or pick up litter. In one class a girl was made to stand for being unable to solve a problem. There were also a couple of cases of humiliating comments by female teachers to reprimand boys. For example: “Look at your shirt, like a dog played on it” and “You’re a dummy if you can’t answer this question.” On the other hand, more supportive comments were also noted in some classes and pupils were encouraged to clap correct answers. A couple of latecomers were given verbal warnings. In one class the teacher ignored pupils talking among themselves and continued to lecture at pupils in English, possibly because she did not speak Hausa, and so was unable to translate for pupils who could not understand English. Boys who teased girls were sometimes reported to the head teacher or to a senior member of staff to be disciplined.

Pupil–pupil relations

Observations indicated that interaction between girls and boys was virtually non-existent. It was noted in a couple of classes that female pupils tended to ask to borrow pens from other female pupils and teachers felt that Muslim girls in particular tended to interact more with each other than with other social groups. All teachers agreed that some boys fought (playfully), imitated their teachers (both female and male) when they were not in class, and messed around throwing papers about, which was observed in several classes. Teachers and pupils also agreed that in general boys teased girls more, making girls feel uncomfortable when they sat together, laughing at them when they walked past inside or outside class, or when they answered questions incorrectly in class. As one teacher put it: “Boys are likely to tease girls more because they are boys and feel superior.” Girls also reported that some boys slapped girls to get their attention.

Teachers, including the head teacher, confirmed that girls reported boys who laughed at them to the head teacher, duty or classroom teacher, who usually punished or cautioned them not to do it again. The trend for (some) boys to fight and to tease girls was noted more widely within the LGEA by the SS.

AI G2.2 Family and community

Socio-economic activities

The families' main economic activities in the community generally relate to farming, fishing and trading; thus, the need for child labour, according to the head teacher, was greatest in the harvesting season when good money was on offer, and during the fishing season (September to November and then February and March), as well as on market days. Parents were unanimous that many children were not enrolled in school because some parents preferred and/or needed them to help on the farm, rear animals or to help with business:

Some children really want to come to school but their parents will stop them and insist that they must go to hawk. *Sai neman kudi kawai iyayensu su ke sa su nema* [Their parents are only concerned about making money.]

Across the board respondents agreed that child labour was also a major cause of absenteeism and dropout, particularly for boys as they got older. Boys were often said to be absent after break and to abandon school either to trade goods in the market, especially on market days, or to learn a trade, such as a mechanic or welder. Girls, in contrast, and Muslim girls in particular, were said to miss school and/or drop out to hawk goods, sometimes in order to earn money for their marriage. This too was said to be more prevalent as the girls got older. As staff members explained:

Pupils – especially Muslim girls – drop out because their parents stop them from coming to school, to help sell wares, or for marriage. All these make retention a big problem because parents are not helping.

Parents prefer the girls to hawk and the explanation they give is that they will assist their parents with money to buy their wedding plates, dishes, beds, and all they need for the wedding.

It was clear from various interviews that some pupils were withdrawn from school by parents to earn money on account of household poverty; however, in other cases, pupils themselves decided to leave school because they prefer to earn money. A pupil's dislike of school, one parent hinted, was sometimes a factor in both non-enrolment and dropout: "Pupils do not like to go to school and instead of leaving them idle, we engage them in business, selling soup items fried groundnut etc., at least to make money for the family."

Some pupils reported that some boys and girls, predominantly Muslim, dropped out of school to try their hand at business but that a few boys, more than girls, returned as overage pupils after a few years.

Families (including religion, ethnicity and educational choice)

Family poverty was seen as a major reason for non-enrolment of pupils in school, according to community and school sources. The community leader explained:

There is lack of food. Some pupils don't eat in the morning, [not] even reheated food. Children go back home to eat. Some may come back while some may not. Maybe they couldn't find something to eat or the parent stopped them.

Pupil illness or family illness (as mentioned above) was also cited as a reason why pupils – usually girls – missed school. Teachers and pupils both mentioned that some teachers went in their own

time to pupils' homes to check on pupils' whereabouts and wellbeing. This was appreciated by some pupils – both girls and boys – who mentioned it as characteristic of a good, caring teacher.

School and community respondents identified household chores as a reason for latecoming. Parents felt that school started too early for pupils to finish their household tasks. The community leader pointed out that girls, more than boys, were late on account of jobs in the home. Teachers mentioned that girls in particular sometimes had to stay at home to look after sick family members or run errands.

Pupil absenteeism was said to be high, especially among girls, according to pupils, the head teacher and the school supervisor, and was attributed to parental negligence by various interviewees. As one LGEA official put it: "Negligence from parents is a main access issue. It contributes to poor attendance." Several respondents were of the view that it was parents' responsibility to check that pupils actually reached and stayed in school.

Attendance is a problem, due to negligence of parents children do not come to school regularly and sometimes some children play on the road before coming to school (PTA member)

The parents are responsible for the children not coming to school; they don't send the children to school. The parents send the children on errands at the time the children are ready for school. The children take advantage of their parent's attitude and don't come to school. Some of the pupils even wear two clothes, a personal dress under the uniform and half way from home they pull [off] the uniform and go to the market. (PTA member)

Yet, as the community leader and several parents pointed out, parents may be away working long hours or, in the case of fathers, away for several days to look for work. Some of the parents interviewed, who were all male, thought some mothers were not ensuring their children go to bed on time and/or were not waking them up early enough in the morning.

In contrast, some parents were said to be active in ensuring pupils arrived at and stayed in school: some reportedly accompanied children to school; some came to school to check on attendance; some disciplined their children for truancy and/or approved of harsh disciplining of their children by the school for missing lessons. The ES thought that generally within the LGEA parents were more aware of the whereabouts of girls than of boys: "More girls are absent and their parents know but boys that are absent the parents do not know that they do not come to school." According to various sources, many pupils, and boys in particular, got distracted on the way to school, or drifted off after break. As the PTA member explained: "Pupils [boys] leave home to go to school but do not enter school. They go to market to do menial jobs or follow bad friends to smoke and drink. They even go fishing." Pupils backed this up, adding that boys sometimes played truant to watch films or football matches on TV.

Most families within the school community were said to be Muslim, a number of which sent their children (both girls and boys) to Qur'anic schools before they came to Baobab. As a result, teachers and pupils agreed, many were late for school in the morning, some even arriving after the first lesson has ended. Pupils also reported that some pupils were later withdrawn from school to attend Qur'anic school full time.

Islamiyya schools were also said to be popular with some parents, according to LGEA, school and community sources. The community stakeholder also believed that private education was generally preferred by parents, but that poverty prevented them from sending their children to private school, which was thought to be better quality:

Private school teachers teach better. [They are] supervised, don't go on strike. Some teachers [in public schools] sit under the tree when they are not paid. In private schools your money takes care of your children's education.

There was also a strong perception among LGEA, school staff that early marriage was responsible for many girls dropping out from school, especially Muslim girls, though the ES thought that the same was true for Christian girls in more rural schools. The head teacher said that this occurred from Primary 3 onwards, with the highest numbers dropping out in Primary 6. In the words of the community leader: "Girls do not complete school, especially when they find husbands." Although the head teacher and school supervisor explained that boys too sometimes married early, he maintained that they often returned to school as overage pupils. The ES was of the view that Muslim girls comprised the main group of children who had never been to school.

According to LGEA and school respondents, including pupils, many Muslim parents had a negative attitude toward government schools because they thought "Western education corrupts." Nevertheless, some parents clearly saw the value in public schooling. One male parent declared: "Western education is useful but consumes so much time and is expensive." Those interviewed thought a formal education would make children more useful to the family and community, enhancing business and farming skills or enabling them to get a government job. As one parent put it: "Teachers should teach well to help pupils to be useful to parents and [the] community." A couple of parents were clearly particularly motivated to send their children to school because they had not had the opportunity to go to school themselves:

We are from Sokoto; our parents ran away from there because they were forced to take us to school but they preferred us to go and rear animals or farm. Today we are regret[ful] and that is why I have all my children in school. Most are girls.

I regret not to have gone to school to be educated today. I would have been a better person today; our parents have cheated us but my children must all go to school.

The issue of educating girls, however, drew mixed responses. The community leader maintained that within his community people now appreciated that formal education was for everyone whereas previously it had been only considered for boys:

Parents in my domain are trying. I see them buy uniforms, sandals, writing materials and books for their children and these parents provide all these for both boys and girls. Parents in my domain appreciate western education now.

The parent from Sokoto also held this view though he perceived female education as a means of improving a girl's marriage prospects:

I've a neighbour whose daughter married a man which ordinarily if she isn't [in] education she wouldn't have married. I believe because she went to school, he married her and now her father dresses better than all of us. He eats good food; in fact we see good things happen only in his house.

In contrast, a couple of male PTA committee members perceived the likely outcome of marriage as a waste of precious resources and a reason not to educate girls. "Women's education ends in the kitchen," one said. "Women's education is a waste of the little money the family has," said another.

Community-school relations

Despite the head teacher's assertion that relations were "very cordial" between the school and community, there were contradictory views and contradictory evidence about community-

school relations and community attitudes towards to schooling, sometimes from the same sources.

The access road connecting the community and the main road, which predated the construction of the school, was clearly a major source of tension between some sections of the community and the school since every time the main gate and the break in the wall at the community end of the compound were repaired, they were reportedly broken down again to reopen the access route. Indeed, parents interviewed complained that the community had not been consulted about the fencing round the school. That said, parents interviewed were glad that they had a school in their community within walking distance of home. However, the community leader added that they had voiced serious concern about the holes in the wall and school security. According to the community leader, some community members had been involved in repairing the damage to the compound perimeter. The LGEA considered it to be the head teacher's responsibility to ensure that the gate was secured and that pupils were prevented from leaving the compound.

The continued dumping of rubbish and building encroachment on school premises, despite requests by school management to desist, also pointed to other tensions with some sectors of the community. Additionally, as the following conversation illustrates, there seemed to be lack of communication between the school and (some) parents. The researcher, seeking a class to observe after break and noting the major absence of pupils in general, asked a female teacher about the situation:

- Researcher: Why do pupils not to return to class after break?
Female teacher: That is how they are. Oo! They go to market, back home or go fishing. We don't know why.
Researcher: Don't their parents know?
Female teacher: They know, I guess, because if we send for the parents, they do not come and even when they come we hardly see any changes and the children are even stubborn.

Community participation in school occurred primarily through providing school building materials and paying the termly ₦50 PTA levy plus other one-off development payments (which were usually used to repair the walls and broken furniture) and parental provision of uniforms and learning materials. For example, according to the community leader, they had earlier constructed waterways to help divert water and prevent the school from flooding before the school was fenced. Parents, however, were seemingly not informed about the particulars of the spending. One parent said: "Monies are used to improve school ... we are not told how monies [that] are collected are used for but we believe that it is used for school." Nevertheless, the parents interviewed were generally happy with the PTA committee.

The SBMC was said not to be functioning and according to one school source had "contributed nothing to the school". In contrast it was generally agreed that the PTA was active in coordinating with traditional leaders to mobilise parents to enrol and retain their children in school, especially girls, and to send pupils back to school on time after holidays.

I am collaborating with the 'sarkin kasuwa' and 'sarkin tasha', market chairman and motor park chairman, to send away school age children when they see them in the park or market. This arrangement has contributed to the improvement in attendance we have today. (PTA chair)

Parents also confirmed that at the meetings teachers encouraged parents to come and check on their wards and to ensure they were neat and clean. The head teacher, however, also wanted parents to check pupils' school work and to increase financial contributions, as well as desiring

more community support in lobbying government to provide drainage, water and upstairs classrooms.

The LGEA, head teacher and PTA claimed that as a result of social mobilisation at PTA meetings, school enrolment and attendance was improving and dropout was slowly decreasing. However, the fact that less teaching/school activity was generally witnessed after break indicated that attendance was still a serious concern.

At the same time, however, parental attitudes in the community towards schooling were criticised by LGEA officials, school management and staff and often dubbed as “not encouraging”. More generally, the ES maintained that most school PTAs in the LGEA were not active, that there was confusion regarding the SBMC’s and PTA’s different responsibilities, and that parents “do not cooperate” with schools. He said that parents “had refused” to attend a sensitization tour organised by the support and monitoring team and was unimpressed that some children enrolled themselves in school or were accompanied by older siblings to school rather than being enrolled by their father, as was customary: “It is the duty of a father to take a child to school.”

One PTA member cited as an example the fact that some children could not attend school because their parents did not provide the requisite clothing or learning materials. This they attributed to lack of interest rather than poverty. One SBMC member also noted that some teachers clearly expected pupils to provide textbooks:

When teachers send pupils that do not have text books to go back home and tell their parents buy them text books to bring to school, most time such children do not come back to school until almost end of term.

Teachers also complained about the fact that attendance at PTA meetings was often poor – which was put down to parents being “careless” by one source – and that parents rarely came to the school even when requested. Yet the SBMC and community leader reported that (some) parents did visit the school periodically, generally to enquire whether their children were in class. The head teacher also noted some parents showed concern about pupil punctuality. But as one parent explained, it was a question of time: “I am a farmer both seasonal and dry season. I leave home very early every morning and return in the evenings so that my family can feed.”

In general, parents felt they were able to air their views at PTA meetings, calling on teachers to “teach well”, in other words to go to class and teach instead of sitting around outside. However, when their child had specific concerns about the school, parents explained that they were afraid to talk to teachers in case their child was then victimised at school. As a result, they said most parents did not follow up on their children’s complaints. As one parent explained:

Yes our children come home to complain to us e.g, they sometimes say they didn’t get any lesson today or no teacher entered our class today, etc. we don’t have the power to confront the teachers; we are afraid of them.

Some did, however, and parents confirmed that in all such cases, the school took action. One parent cited the case of a parent who brought their boy back to school after he had been absent for a whole year; the head teacher flogged the boy who, according to the parent, never missed school after that.

AIG2.3 The LGEA/LGA

LGEA/LGA internal relations

There was recognition within the LGEA of the support received by ADSUBEB in terms of monitoring vehicles for the ES and motorbikes for the school supervisor but more money was requested for fuel.

School governance

Appreciation was expressed by the SBMC and pupils of all that government had done in terms of renovating and repairing the school buildings, which was seen by some as important in boosting pupil enrolment and retention. However the question was raised about the politicisation of school infrastructural development across the state. It was said, for example, that the school had been earmarked for upstairs classrooms but then at the last minute, another school was given priority. The awarding of contracts and supervision of contractors was also questioned by one interviewee, as some of the wall surrounding the school was swept away in the rains because of poor quality work.

Despite all the progress reported, the community stakeholder thought more needed to be done by government, specifically, providing water and a clinic or first-aid post, and in-service training for teachers: “Government should provide [for] all these needs,” he declared. Repairing the gate, which was reportedly a major concern of parents, was, he argued, another government responsibility:

Community people are poor and can't repair it. Some fathers leave their home for three to four days to look for money. Are you expecting the community to repair it? It is a problem that the school gate is broken.

On the other hand, one parent suggested that the community also needed to assist financially “since we cannot wait for government to do everything.”

The head teacher also urged government to stop the community from encroaching on school land and to ensure the removal of buildings that had already been constructed.

Teachers' main complaints related to poor salary and delays in payments and perceived lack of concern by government:

Government does not care about we teachers and we are the once that are working, they don't care about our welfare, even this increase in salary they don't care to include us. We are discouraged.

There was LGEA and parental support for government to address these issues and generally to improve teachers' working conditions. One parent said:

Teaching children is very difficult ... therefore government must improve teachers' work conditions e.g good pay, welfare packages, bonuses, housing, teaching environment improved, teaching materials provided and many more. The government knows all.

The ES also noted how “men are running away from teaching” because the low salaries were insufficient to support a family:

I've more female teacher than male teachers in this local government. You know, madam, men do not want to be in the teaching profession again. The salary is not enough; the government doesn't pay well; even [a] duty post allowance is not given. On my own I met the chairman of this local government and begged him to help the supervisors with some little amount to motivate them and he promised to give them Naira 2000 monthly for fuelling their machine to go for supervision.

Recognising the need to boost teachers' morale and motivation, he said: "It will be nice if teachers' salary is increased and duty post allowance is introduced." He also suggested allowances for teachers who agreed to go to rural schools. He identified the lack of teachers, especially in rural areas, and teacher absenteeism as the main cause of falling standards of education. In particular he bemoaned the shortage of teachers for CRK and IRK, which he considered necessary to improve the moral development of pupils and which might therefore improve truancy and absenteeism. The ES said that he was working together with the education committees, experimenting with transferring teachers to rural schools.

Teachers also asserted that increased provision of textbooks would help them to teach more effectively while the community leader thought that textbooks would "encourage children and parents to accept western education" and that play materials such as swings would also improve enrolment. The SBMC also called for more textbooks.

The school supervisor thought in-service training and further studies would help teachers perform better, adding that he already organised workshops for teachers on specific areas such as teaching aids. He was also encouraging teachers to organise extra lessons for pupils, especially in Maths and English.

Problems of teacher absenteeism and punctuality by some teachers (both female and male) across the LGEA were acknowledged by LGEA officials. Teachers were reportedly disciplined at LGEA level through advice and verbal reprimands.

LGEA-school support

The school had clearly been supported by the LGEA in various ways: some of the teachers interviewed had acquired their NCE through in-service training and the SS was said to visit schools regularly, addressing pupils in assemblies about not fighting and on obedience, attending SBMC meetings, and interacting with the parents in relation to pupil latecoming and not bringing writing materials.

LGEA-community relations

According to the ES, advocacy and sensitisation workshops had been taking place, which he thought would impact positively on enrolment and dropout: "Parents are sensitized about early marriage, early pregnancy, [the] importance of education, especially for the girl child, early pregnancies and HIV /AIDS". The ES reported interacting with traditional leaders on school issues such as enrolment, attendance and "general cooperation of the community". Although the ES thought the tour had been a success overall, he reported that some parents had refused to attend and that it was obvious that PTAs and SBMCs were generally unaware of their responsibilities and had to have them explained.

Although there was clearly frequent meetings between the LGEA (and the SS in particular), the school, SBMC and PTA, parents of the case study school interviewed said that most parents did not know the ES or the SS.

The ES considered it the responsibility of communities to engage in self-help projects to improve school infrastructure, applauding those that had used World Bank funds. He criticised some rural communities that had done nothing to improve schools that lacked classrooms and/or shade and so had to close at 10am because the sun was too strong:

Madam if you go to some schools in the rural areas you will feel bad; there are schools where there is no single structure; the children outside with no shade. They come to school at 7am and

by 10am the school has to close because the sun is strong at that time. I can remember two or three schools that do not have structures.

The SS maintained that it was the SBMC's duty to mobilise the community to renovate schools whereas the PTA's duty was to provide the link between schools and communities.

The community leader confirmed that there were meetings between community representatives, the school and the LGEA; the ward head, for example was invited by the school and the LGEA.

AIG3. EDUCATIONAL ACCESS, QUALITY AND OUTCOMES – A SUMMARY

AIG3.1 Infrastructure and security

- There was widespread appreciation of government's efforts in infrastructural development and renovations of school buildings, which were thought to boost pupil enrolment and retention.
- But concerns were raised about the politicization of decisions about prioritizing which schools to develop/renovate across the state and the awarding of construction contracts.
- There was disagreement as to where the main responsibility lay for infrastructural development – with communities, or government. The LGEA applauded communities who engaged in self-help projects.
- The school has electricity but no water and limited shade. School and community respondents called for more shade and for water for pupils, who often left school at break in search of water, and some did not return.
- Toilets were locked or in disrepair, and surrounded by excreta.
- Drainage was also an issue that the school thought government should address as the compound reportedly floods during the rainy season.
- There was a well-stocked library and computer suite in the school, neither of which pupils were seen using. Pupils complained they were not allowed to use the computers, which were said to be used by staff and fee-paying outsiders.
- Some of the compound was used as a football pitch and to play other sports though none were witnessed during research visits and there was a call for more "play facilities" to help boost enrolment.
- Security was a major issue of concern for the school and community, particularly the road that bisects the compound between the main school and pre-school, unauthorized entrances in the compound wall, and the repeatedly broken main gate.
- A security guard was appointed by the LGEA but had not been paid so stopped coming to work.
- At all times of day, pedestrians, cyclists and motorcyclists passed through the compound.
- Hawkers were only allowed in at break but loitered around and were even selling during class time because of lack of security.
- Though the compound was fairly neat and tidy by the main buildings, elsewhere there were piles of rubbish dumped by community members, and excreta because some community members were said to use the compound as a toilet and out of hours classrooms were reportedly vandalized sometimes.
- Drug-taking youths that hung out round the toilets, interacting with school boys even during school hours, were identified as another security problem.
- "Area boys" from outside the immediate community sat on the compound wall and abused and intimidated pupils to prevent them from getting to school in the morning.

AIG3.2 Teacher management

- There were said to be sufficient teachers in the school, most of whom were qualified, though the LGEA as a whole was said to be short of IRK and CRK teachers and teachers for rural schools.
- Teacher morale was said to be low on account of poor and delayed pay, and teachers feeling neglected by government. There was sympathy from the LGEA and community members.
- Teacher absenteeism latecoming and lack of lesson preparation were highlighted by various respondents, including all pupil groups, and witnessed by researchers. Pupils suggested this applied to (some) female teachers in particular.
- Despite asserting that “teachers are trying”, the LGEA acknowledged that teachers’ irregular attendance was encouraging poor attendance by pupils, affecting teaching quality, and impacting on other teachers’ morale.
- Teacher (and pupil) numbers were reportedly often lower after break, which was confirmed by observation.
- There was recognition by LGEA and community respondents of the need for further in-service training to improve teaching quality.
- The LGEA suggested duty allowances as incentives for teachers to work in rural areas.
- Some teachers were said to visit pupils’ homes to check on their whereabouts and wellbeing.

AIG3.3 Pupil management and pupil relations

- Assemblies conducted by a duty teacher and assisted by prefects were said to be held three times a week and pupils were inspected for neatness and punished if found wanting.
- The LGEA was adamant that corporal punishment was prohibited and pupils were generally given menial tasks as punishment: weeding, sweeping, fetching water etc.
- However, punishment was said generally to be determined by the head teacher for boys, and deputy/ senior “mistress” for girls; female teachers and prefects punished girls and male teachers (said to beat more) generally punished boys. Punishment was gender-differentiated with girls usually caned more lightly on the hand or back of the legs, and boys caned more harshly on the buttocks. Observations confirmed these practices.
- Observations and interviews confirmed that corporal punishment was widely practised by teachers and prefects, especially on boys, and it was reported as a cause of absenteeism and dropout among boys and girls.
- Some parents approved of corporal punishment, and asked the school to flog their child.
- Offences resulting in caning included latecoming, absenteeism, improper dress, being dirty, not paying PTA fees (resulting in public flogging), bullying, fighting or stealing, trying to leave the school at break.
- Other punishments included verbal reprimands and being made to kneel down, sweeping the compound, picking up litter (especially for girls), frog-jumping (especially for boys).
- Staff also reported positive reward policies: termly prizes for performance and stationery provided by teachers for punctuality were thought to help boost enrolment.
- Female and male prefects and monitors were said to be selected by class teachers based on classroom performance; duty prefects assist duty teachers in apprehending and disciplining latecomers and trying to prevent pupils leaving school at break. There was a suggestion that some prefects bully pupils.
- Pupils acknowledged that pupils “tease” each other and that (some) boys, in particular, teased girls, and, according to one teacher, sometimes beat girls.

- Bullying and fighting was witnessed at break; where teachers were aware, they intervened but much went unnoticed.

AI G3.4 Teaching and learning

- There was widespread satisfaction by LGEA, school and community respondents of the improved classroom conditions: cement floors, good chalkboards and sufficient benches and desks, which was thought to help reduce dropout.
- But there was a call for more classrooms to cope with increasing enrolments and other schools in the LGEA reportedly suffered from overcrowding.
- Most pupils had writing materials and although some girls were seen being given/lent materials, pupils and other pupils were reportedly sent home to purchase stationery but dropped out if they couldn't afford it. Pupils lacking writing materials was a widespread problem across the LGEA.
- There was contradictory evidence on the availability of textbooks in the school though provision was said to be good in general across the LGEA. None were visible in lessons, and pupils and teachers wanted the shortage to be addressed to improve teaching quality.
- Despite teachers' attempts at mixed seating, pupils preferred to reorganize themselves into same gender groups with friends and neighbours, with larger, older pupils at the back.
- Teachers thought this was for religious reasons though the "teasing" of girls by (some) boys in class was also reportedly a factor.
- Observations showed cross-gender interaction among pupils to be almost non-existent and that Muslim girls in particular tended to interact more with each other.
- Teacher talk dominated in most lessons interspersed with choral repetition and some individual questioning, which made limited cognitive demands of pupils. Other activities included copying from the board, and answering questions in exercise books while teachers monitored.
- The level of pupil interaction varied across classes and not all teachers directed questions equally at both girls and boys.
- Teacher-pupil relations varied from formal or indifferent, to friendly and encouraging.
- Pupils said some girls dropped out of school after being teased in class for getting the answer wrong.
- Teachers and pupils said they found teaching and learning in English difficult, and some pupils were said to find it discouraging. Most classes were conducted in a mixture of English and Hausa though pupils were sometimes reprimanded for using Hausa.
- Pupils wanted to learn English but to learn *in* Hausa.
- Most teachers thought girls usually performed better at school but overage pupils were singled out as one group that did not perform well.
- Teachers admitted some topics were skipped if too difficult.
- There was a perception among pupils that some female teachers were in a hurry to leave class.

AI G3.5 Socio-economic and family issues

- Household poverty was widely cited as a reason for non-enrolment, absenteeism and dropout, especially for boys, as parents were said to need children to help/earn money farming, animal rearing, or trading.
- Some boys who dropped out to try their hand at business returned to school as overage pupils if business failed.
- Some children were reportedly withdrawn by parents to help with family work and/or earn money; some pupils chose to drop out of school themselves.

- Boys were often said to be absent on market days, or after break as they went to trade or train as an apprentice.
- Girls, and Muslim girls in particular, were said to miss school and/or drop out to hawk goods, sometimes to earn money for their marriage.
- Home chores were not mentioned by pupils but parents complained school started too early for children to finish their chores while community and school sources mentioned that home chores and running errands caused children, especially girls, to be late to school.
- Hunger, illness, or caring for a sick relative (especially girls), were also mentioned as reasons for absenteeism.
- Both in Baobab school and across the LGEA, lack of parental supervision was seen as a major factor in pupils, and boys in particular, getting “distracted (e.g. going fishing, smoking and drinking, watching TV) and not reaching school in the morning.
- Community members, including parents, pointed out, however, that parents may be away working long hours and unaware of their child’s truancy.
- Qur’anic schooling before government school caused some Muslim pupils to be late and some were even withdrawn to attend Qur’anic school full time.
- Islamiyya schools were commonly said to be popular and the community stakeholder thought private education was generally preferred by parents but poverty prevented them sending their children there.
- It was widely believed that early marriage was responsible for many Muslim girls dropping out of school, especially Muslim girls, though the LGEA thought this also to be true of Christian girls in rural areas.
- Some Muslim boys were said to marry early but sometimes returned to school as overage pupils.
- Some Muslim parents who did not send their children to government schools were variously said to consider “western education” as corrupting, too expensive and time-consuming though some parents who had not had the chance to go to school themselves were keen to make amends.
- Responses were mixed among community respondents as to the value of educating girls and marriage was seen as both a reason to educate (better prospects) and not (waste of money).

AI G3.6 School–community relations *(including LGEA involvement)*

- There were contradictory views and evidence, sometimes from the same sources, as to the state of school–community relations and community attitudes to schooling.
- A major point of friction with some sections of the community was the access road through school, which predates the school, since every time the gate/gap in the wall at either end is repaired (by some community members) it’s broken again (by others).
- The community had not been consulted about the fencing (wall) though parents wanted security to be improved in the school.
- The presence of drug-taking youths round the toilets (and their use of the premises out of school hours) was another source of concern, which had been communicated to the traditional leader.
- The continued dumping of rubbish and building encroachment on school premises, despite management pleas, was another issue.
- It was generally agreed that the PTA was active coordinating with traditional leaders to mobilize parents to enrol and retain pupils in school.
- However, across the LGEA, PTAs were said not to be functioning and there was confusion between the differing responsibilities of the SBMC and the PTA.

- Despite general satisfaction with the PTA by community respondents, concern was voiced about transparency and communication about the spending of PTA funds.
- Some parents felt happy to air general opinions at PTA meetings but not to tackle teachers directly about their child's complaints in case the child is victimized at school.
- Parental participation in schooling was primarily through payment of the N50 termly PTA levy, provision of building materials and one-off development payments.
- The SBMC was said not to be functioning.
- The school wanted government intervention in preventing community encroachment on school land and to increase the height of the compound wall to improve security.
- Regular meetings were held between the LGEA, school and community representatives though there seemed to be little contact between the LGEA and ordinary parents.

APPENDIX II

INSTRUMENTS

- II A Pupil group interview schedule
- II B Teacher interview schedule
- II C Head teacher interview schedule
- II D Community leader interview schedule
- II E PTA/SBMC member interview schedule
- II F Parents' individual/group interview schedule
- II G ES/SS interview schedule
- II H ADSUBEB member interview schedule
- II J Classroom observation schedule
- II K School observation sheet
- II L School and community profile
- II M Pupil statistics form

APPENDIX IIA

Pupil Group Interview (4–6 pupils in gender-segregated groups)

School:

Class /Year

Date:

Subject Observed:

Teacher Observed:

Pupil Initials	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Gender						
Religion						
Language(s) at home						
Ethnicity						
Year first started Primary 1						
Distance to school (or time to get to school)						

1. What do you **like** most about going to school (*in general*)? Why?
2. What do you like about **this** school?
3. What do you **dislike** most about going to school (*in general*)? Why?
4. What do you dislike about **this** school?

5. Are you ever **late** for school? Why?
6. Are you **disciplined** for this? How?
7. Do you think it is **fair** to be disciplined in this way?
8. Have you ever been **absent** for the odd day at school? Why?
9. Have you ever **missed school for a term** or more? Why? Is your family aware of this?
10. How are you **treated by other pupils** when you **come back** to school?
11. How are you **treated by teachers** when you **come back** to school? Are you disciplined for this absence? How?
12. Are your **parents** expected to **explain your absences** to the school?
13. Has anyone you know **dropped out** of school? Do you know why? Does their family know and / or agree with them dropping out?
14. What could be done to make sure pupils don't drop out of school?

15. Does anyone in your family go to a **different school** ? **Where** do they go to school & **why**?
16. Do you know anyone your age who has **never been to school**? Do you know why?
17. What could be done to get more children into school?
18. Do you think that **school is more important for some** children than for other children?
Explain

19. What makes a **good teacher**?
20. Do teachers **treat all pupils the same**? If not give an example.
21. Do **female** and **male** teachers **teach in the same way**? If not, how are they different?

22. What sort of **offences** are pupils disciplined for? (e.g. not doing homework, fighting, missing class)?
23. Do male and female teachers **discipline** all pupils in the same way? If not, how are they different? Do they discipline fairly?
24. Is there a special **teacher in charge of discipline**? When do pupils get sent to that teacher? What does he/she do?
25. Is there a school **counsellor**? What is their role? Do pupils choose to go to the counsellor or are they referred by a teacher? What sort of issues do they see the counsellor about?
26. What **helps you learn** in class? What makes it **difficult** for you to learn?
27. What **subjects** do you do best in?
28. What would help you **learn better**?
29. Do you prefer learning, a) all in **English**? b) all in a **Nigerian language**? c) a mix of both? **Why?**
30. Do you think that being in school is **different for girls and boys**? How?
31. What about the selection of **prefects and monitors** (*balance of girls and boys & other social groups?*) and their various duties? Who is chosen and why?
32. Do you have **school/classroom cleaning** (or other) **duties**? If so, what? How often? Are they the same for boys and girls? Do you think they are fair?
33. Do you think that girls and boys **participate** equally in class? If not, why?
34. Do you think that girls and boys **perform equally in tests**? If not, why?
35. Does anyone **at home** help you with your school work?
36. How do **pupils get on together** in your class? Are there some who don't get on well? Why?
37. Do boys and girls get on well in your class?
38. Is there any **teasing/bullying/fighting** in class or in the school compound? What kinds of things do they do? Who is generally involved (*victim/perpetrator – particular social groups?*)?
39. Does anyone (*teachers/prefects/monitors/other pupils/adults*) ever intervene? How?
40. If you have a problem in school, who would you tell?

ASK PUPILS ABOUT ANY SIGNIFICANT OBSERVATION FROM YOUR CLASS/SCHOOL OBSERVATION

ASK IF THEY HAVE ANY QUESTIONS FOR YOU

APPENDIX II B

Teacher Individual Interview

School:

Date:

Teacher Initials	
Class Observed	
Subject Observed	
Teaching Experience (Years)	
Years in this school	
Responsibilities in school	
Pre-service training (course/college)	
In-service training	
Gender	
Religion	
Main Language(s)	
Other Languages	
Ethnicity	

1. What do you **like** most about your job?
2. What do you **dislike** most about your job?
3. What do you think makes a **good teacher**?
4. What would most help you to do your job even better?
5. Have you had any professional development? If so, what? What kind of **professional development** do you feel you most need?
6. What do you think are the **biggest challenges** for this school?
7. How do you think these might be addressed? (*and by whom?*)
8. What are the main **obstacles to pupil learning** in the classroom?
9. How do you think these might be addressed? (*and by whom?*)
10. How do you find **teaching in English**? Do you sometimes use a **Nigerian language** as well? If so, why?
11. How well do pupils **understand** English? Any **particular groups** that struggle? What **impact** does that have on their learning?
12. What do pupils think about learning in English?
13. Are pupils often **late** for school? Which groups? Why? Do their families know?
14. What could be done to improve **punctuality**?
15. What is pupil **attendance** like in this school? What are the reasons? Do their families know?
16. Are there particular groups of pupils (*gender/ethnic/religious etc.*) who tend to have poor attendance? What are the reasons?
17. What could be done to improve attendance?
18. Do you have any pupils who have **missed a whole term** or has not come to school this term?
19. Do you have many **repeaters**? Which social groups?
20. What could be done about it?
21. Do you have many **overage** pupils in your class? Which social groups? Why?
22. How are they treated by other pupils?
23. What is pupil **drop out** like in this school? What are the reasons? Is **pregnancy** an issue?

24. Are dropouts from any particular groups? Why?
25. What could be done to prevent drop out?
26. Are there children in the area that **never come to school**? Any particular groups? Why?
27. What could be done to encourage more pupils to come to school?

28. Do you think pupils **participate** equally in class? Are there any particular groups that participate more than others? Less than others?
29. What reasons are there for low participation?
30. Do pupils **behave** in the same way in class? If not, in what ways do pupils differ?
31. Do pupils choose where they sit in class? Who sits with whom? Why? Do you intervene in pupils **seating**. Why? Why not?
32. In what ways do you **discipline** pupils who misbehave? Do you discipline boys and girls in the same way?
33. Is there a **school policy** on discipline? Do you agree with it?
34. Is there a teacher **in charge of school discipline**? What are their **duties**? How are they appointed?
35. Do **female and male teachers** teach in the same way?
36. Do you think that being in **school** is **the same for girls and boys**? If not, how is it different?
37. Do you think that girls and boys **perform equally in tests**? If not, why not?
38. Are there any (other) particular groups that don't perform well? What are the reasons?
39. How do **girls and boys get on** with each other in class? In school?
40. Are there particular groups who don't get on well with each other? Why?
41. Is there any **teasing/bullying/fighting** in class or in the school compound? What kinds of things do they do? Who is generally involved (*victim/perpetrator – particular social groups*)?
42. How do teachers generally deal with such issues?

43. Apart from classroom teaching, what other **duties** do teachers have? How are these duties allocated?
44. Is there a **school counsellor**? What do they do? How are they appointed? Which social groups are they most involved with?
45. What kind of **support** do pupils get from their **families**?
46. What more could they do to support children's education?
47. What kind of **support** does the **community** give the school?
48. What more could they do?
49. What kind of contact does the **Education Secretary** or **School Supervisor** have with the school? the teachers? the community?

ASK TEACHERS ABOUT ANY SIGNIFICANT OBSERVATION FROM YOUR CLASS/SCHOOL OBSERVATION

ASK WHETHER THEY HAVE ANY QUESTIONS FOR YOU

APPENDIX II C

Head teacher interview

Head teacher initials	
Number of years in teaching	
Number of years as a head teacher	
Number of years in present school	
Qualifications	
In-service training	
Gender	
Religion	
Main language(s)	
Other languages	
Ethnicity	

Ask the head teacher for information for the school and community profile form.

1. What do you think are the biggest **challenges** for this school?
2. Are pupils often **late** for school? Which groups? Why?
3. What does the school do to improve punctuality?
4. How are latecomers treated?
5. What is pupil **attendance** like in this school? What are the reasons?
6. Are there particular groups of pupil (gender/ethnic/religious etc.) who tend to have poor attendance? What are the reasons?
7. What does the school do to improve attendance?
8. Do you have many **repeaters**? Any particular social groups? Why?
9. Do you have many **overage** pupils? Any particular social groups? Why?
10. How are they treated by teachers/other pupils?
11. Are there children in the area that **never** come to school? Any particular groups? Why?
12. What other school options do parents in this area have? e.g. Private or Islamic schools
13. What does the school do to encourage more pupils to come to school?
14. What is pupil **drop out** like in this school? What are the reasons? Is pregnancy an issue?
15. Are dropouts from any particular groups? Why?
16. What does the school do to prevent drop out?
17. What are the main **obstacles to pupil learning**?
18. How do you think these might be addressed? (*and by whom?*)
19. In what ways do **teachers contribute positively** to pupils' learning experiences?
20. In what ways do **teachers contribute negatively** to pupils' learning experiences?
21. Do teachers treat all pupils the same? If not, which pupils are treated differently?
22. How would describe the level of **teacher professionalism** in your school?
23. In what ways do you encourage positive professional practice by your teachers?
24. If you have a problem with a particular teacher, how do you deal with it?
25. Apart from teaching what are the main responsibilities of a teacher?
26. How are teachers in a position of responsibility (eg Discipline) appointed?
27. Is there a School Counsellor? Who is it? How were they appointed? What are their duties?
28. Is there a school policy on **discipline**?

29. Is it always followed by your teachers?
30. Who is in-charge of school discipline? What are their duties? Why was that person appointed?
31. Are girls and boys disciplined in the same way?
32. How are prefects and monitors selected?
33. Do pupils respond in the same way to **male and female teachers**? If not, how is it different?
34. Do male and female teachers teach in the same way? If not, how is it different?
35. Do you think that being in **school** is **the same for girls and boys**? If not, how is it different?
36. Do you think that **girls and boys perform equally** in **tests**? If not, why not?
37. Are there any (other) particular groups that don't perform well? What are the reasons?
38. What proportion of pupils **progress to JSS**? Which groups? What prevents pupils from progressing to JSS? What do they do if they don't progress to JSS?
39. What is the school doing to improve pupil performance?
40. What kind of support do pupils get from their **families**?
41. What more could they do to support children's education?
42. How is the **PTA** involved in the school? Give examples.
43. How often does the PTA meet? Who calls the meetings?
44. What kind of support does the community give the school?
45. What more could they do?
46. Generally, how are relations between the school and the community?
47. How is the **SBMC** involved in the school management? Give examples
48. How often does the SBMC meet?
49. Is there an operational **District Education Committee**? Who is on it? How are they involved with the school? the community?
50. What kind of support do the Education Secretary and School Supervisor give to the school? Do they help with the **school development plan**? How?
51. How do the **school**, the **Education Secretary** (and **School Supervisor**) and the **community** **work together** to improve
 - school **access**?
 - the school **environment**?
 - **quality** of learning?
 - pupil **outcomes**?
38. How could this be further improved?
39. What would most help you to do your job even better?

Transfer the relevant responses to the school and community profile form (e.g. for policies on discipline).

**ASK TEACHERS ABOUT ANY SIGNIFICANT OBSERVATION FROM YOUR SCHOOL
OBSERVATIONS
ASK WHETHER THEY HAVE ANY QUESTIONS FOR YOU**

APPENDIX II D

Community leader interview

(Ward head / Religious leader / Women's group head)

School:

Date:

Initials	
Gender	
Religion	
Language(s)	
Ethnicity	
Occupation	
Community Role	

1. What different **educational provision** exists in your community? (e.g. private/public schools? Nomadic schools, Islamic schools etc.) On what basis do you think parents **choose** which school to send their children? Or whether **not** to send them to school?
2. What different committees, NGOs, and educational networks exist in the community to support education? Who is involved in these organisations? What kind of support do they offer?
3. What do you think about **this** school?
4. What are you most **satisfied** with about the school?
5. What could the school do better?
6. What **connection** (if any) do you have **with the school**?
7. Do you have any specific **responsibilities** relating to the school?
8. How does the **school engage** with you and the community?
9. Have you ever tried to make your views and those of the community heard through the **PTA? SBMC?** Give examples.
10. Do you think the PTA or SBMC represents the general views of the community?
11. Has the **school responded** to issues raised or requests from the community? Give examples.
12. Have you ever been consulted by the **Education Secretary, School Supervisor** or other government officer? (Who? When? About what? Was it productive / successful?)
13. Are the community asked to **contribute** to the school? In what ways? How often?
14. Are there **any children** in this area who have
 - **never** gone to school?
 - come **late**?
 - have **poor attendance**?
 - **dropped out** of school?

Why?
15. Has the school raised these issues with **parents** and the **community**? How?
16. How have parents and the community **responded**?
17. Have you noticed any **particular groups** of pupils that are affected by these issues?
18. What do you think would **get more children into school** and **keep them in school**? (in-school and out-of school factors)
19. What do you think the school should do about this?
20. How might the **government** and **local education officers** help to get and keep pupils in school?

21. Are there any **reasons** why families in the community **might NOT** want their children to go to this school? Explain
22. Do their views differ depending on whether it concerns **a girl** rather than **a boy**? Explain.
23. Is this different for **different religious/ ethnic groups**?
24. What kind of school might they be happier to send their children to?
25. Is there a view within the community that school is **more important** for some children than for others?
 - Which children is it more important for?
 - Why do you think this is?
 - Is this specific to particular religious/ethnic groups in the community?
26. Do you think that **some children** (*according to gender, age, ethnicity, religion, home background*) have **bigger challenges** than others in
 - getting into school?
 - staying in and completing school?
 - learning and performance?

Which ones? Why?
27. How does home/community life **impact** on
 - pupil **attendance**?
 - **learning**?
 - and **performance** at school?
28. What proportion of pupils **progress to JSS**? Any particular social groups? Why? What happens to the others?
29. If you could change one thing about the school what would it be?
30. In what ways might the **school and community relations/ communication** be improved?

ASK WHETHER THEY HAVE ANY QUESTIONS FOR YOU

APPENDIX II E

SBMC / PTA member individual interview, or group interview

School:

Date:

Initials			
Role			
Length of membership			
Gender			
Religion			
Language(s) at home			
Ethnicity			
Size of SBMC/PTA			
Date of last 3 meetings	1.	2.	3.
Issues discussed			
Actions over last year			

1. What do you **like** most about this school? Why?
2. What do you **dislike** most about this school? Why?
3. How does the SBMC/PTA **operate**?
4. Has there been **any report** of children
 - coming **late** to school?
 - **not coming** at all?
 - **not attending**?
 - **dropping out**?
5. What efforts has the SBMC/PTA made to **address the problems**?
6. Are you aware of children in this area not in school?
7. **Why** are they **not in school**? (*What are the in- & out- of school factors?*)
8. What other schools are in the area (*private, religious?*)? Why would a parent send their child to a different school rather than **this** school?
9. Some children in this area have **never** ever gone to school? Why?
10. What do you think would encourage more children into school?
11. Some children come **late** to school? Why?
12. Other children **drop out**, why?
13. What proportion of pupils **progress to JSS**? Which pupils generally progress (*social groups*)? What happens to those who leave school?
14. Do you think all children should have the chance to go to school?
15. What do you think would help to **keep children in school**? (*out of school/in-school strategies?*)
16. Do you think that pupils **learn** well in this school? Explain.
17. What are the biggest **challenges** to pupil learning?
18. Is this different for **different pupils** (*according to gender, age, ethnicity, religion*)?
19. How do you think their learning could be improved?
20. Do you think children get help with their **school work**? (*any particular social groups?*)
21. Do you think all children can be **as good as each other** in school? If not, which ones do better?
22. Do you think that being in school is **different for girls and boys**? How?
23. Is life at **home different for girls and boys**? Explain?

24. How does home/community life **impact on**
 - pupil **attendance**?(including lateness)
 - **learning**?
 - **performance** at school?
25. What **role** does the PTA/SBMC play in improving pupil learning?
26. Is the PTA/SBMC involved in the development of the **school development report**?
27. Are there any **NGOs/CBOs** in the community involved in the school? In what ways?
28. How does the PTA/SBMC find out about the **views of community** concerning the school?
29. Do you think the **school responds** to community views? Give examples.
30. Have you been consulted about the school by the **Education Secretary** or **School Supervisor**? For what purposes?
31. Does the Education Secretary or School Supervisor have any **contact with the community** outside the PTA/SBMC? Give examples.
32. If you could change one thing about the school what would it be?

ASK WHETHER THEY HAVE ANY QUESTIONS FOR YOU

APPENDIX II F

Parent group interview (4–6 parents)

School:

Date:

Parent Initials	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Gender							
Religion							
Language(s) at home							
Ethnicity							
Occupation							
Classes children attend							

1. What **do you think** about this school?
2. What are **most satisfied** with about this school?
3. What could it **do better**?
4. In what ways do you **make your views** about the school **known** to the school management?
5. How does the **school engage with you** and other parents?
6. Do you think the **PTA/SBMC** represents the general views of the parents?
7. Have you ever tried to make your views heard through the PTA? With SBMC? Give examples:
8. Has the **school responded** to yours views? Give examples
9. Have you ever been consulted by the **Education Secretary, School Supervisor** or other government officer? Who? When? About what? Was it productive / successful?
10. Are you, the parents, asked to **contribute** to the school? In what ways? How often?
11. Are there some children in this area who:
 - Have **never** gone to school?
 - Come **late**?
 - Have **poor attendance**?
 - **Drop out** of school?
12. Has the school raised these issues with parents? How?
13. Have you noticed any **particular groups of pupils** that are affected by these issues?
14. What do parents do about these issues?
15. What do you think would **get more children into school** and **keep them** in school? (*out of school/in-school factors*)
16. What do you think the school should do about this?
17. How might the **government** and **local education officers** help to keep pupils in school?
18. Do you think that pupils **learn well** in this school? Explain.
19. What are the **biggest challenges** to pupil learning? Is this different for different pupils (*gender, age, ethnicity, religion, home background*)?
20. How do you think their learning could be improved?
21. Do you think all children can be as good as each other in school? If not, which ones do better?
22. Is school **more important for some** children than for others? Which ones? Why?
23. Do you or anyone **at home help** your child with their school work?

24. Do you think that being in school is different for girls and boys? How?
25. Is life at home different for girls and boys? Explain?
26. How does home/community life impact on
 - pupil **attendance** ?
 - **learning**?
 - and **performance** at school?
27. If you could **change one thing** about the school what would it be?

ASK WHETHER THEY HAVE ANY QUESTIONS FOR YOU

APPENDIX II G

Education Secretary / School Supervisor interview

Initials:	District:
Gender:	Religion:
Ethnicity:	Language(s):
Years of teaching:	Years as an ES/SS:
Years in this district:	No of schools in district:
(For ES only) No of school supervisors:	

1. What do you think are the main **access** issues in your schools /area?
2. Are these problems worse for particular schools or groups of pupils (*gender/ethnic/religious etc.*)? What are the reasons? Are there children in your area/schools who have **never been to school**?
 - a. Why do you think this is?
 - b. Does it affect some social groups more than others?
3. Besides public primary schools, what other basic **educational provision** is there in the LGEA (*e.g private schools – approved and unapproved, Islamic schools of all kinds*)? On what basis do you think parents choose where to send their children, or choose not to send them to school?
4. To what extent is pupil **attendance** an issue for schools?
 - a. Why do you think this is?
 - b. Does it affect some social groups more than others?
5. To what extent is pupil **punctuality** an issue for schools?
 - a. Why do you think this is?
 - b. Does it affect some social groups more than others?
6. To what extent is pupil **drop out** an issue for schools?
 - a. Why do you think this is?
 - b. Does it affect some social groups more than others?
7. How do **schools address** issues of admission, attendance, punctuality and drop out to encourage more pupils to come to and stay in school?
8. What do you think about the **quality** of education provided in your area?
9. Do you think that what goes on in schools has an influence on whether children come to school or not? Explain.
 - Teaching resources (*textbooks*)
 - Facilities (*classrooms, other buildings, toilets*)
 - Teaching
 - Disciplinary practices (*corporal punishment, correspondence, picking up litter etc.*)
10. How do you help schools and teachers **improve the quality** of teaching and learning? Give specific examples.
11. Do male and female teachers **teach in the same way**? If not, in what ways are they different?
12. What is the general level of **test performance** in schools in the LGA? Which social groups tend to perform best/worst? Why? What could be done to improve their performance?
13. What proportion of pupils **progress to JSS**? How does this differ by social group? (*gender, religion, ethnicity etc.*) Why? What do the others go?
14. How do you deal with **teacher discipline** in your schools?
 - What are the main issues?

- Do they affect particular social groups more than others?
15. What is the **balance of social groups** (*by gender, religion, ethnic group*) in the teaching workforce in primary schools in your district?
 16. Does it reflect the social composition of the surrounding communities? Explain.
 17. To what extent are **communities** involved in supporting the school?
 18. In what ways are they involved?
 19. How much **influence** do they have over the running of schools? Give examples.
 20. Do you think the various communities consider educating **girls and boys** at school to be equally important? Give examples.
 21. Is school more or less important for **particular social groups**?
 22. How could communities be **more involved** in supporting schools?
 23. What is your role in **mobilising** community involvement in the schools? What strategies have been successful?
 24. How do communities raise issues of concern with the school?
 25. How important is the **PTA** in this regard?
 26. Are there examples where the schools have responded to community requests?
 27. How is the **SBMC** involved in school management?
 28. In what ways is your office involved with the SBMC?
 29. What kind of **support** does **your office** give to schools?
 30. In what way do you assist schools with preparing **school development plans**?
 31. In what ways does your work contribute to improving access? Give examples
 32. What is the formal relationship between the **LGEA and the LGA**? How does it work in practice? How could it be improved?
 33. What other government bodies and committees are involved in education and schools in this LGEA?
 34. How do **you**, the **school** and the **community** work **together** to improve
 - school access?
 - the school environment?
 - quality of learning?
 - pupil outcomes?
 38. How could this be further improved?
 39. What would most help you to do your job even better?

ASK WHETHER THEY HAVE ANY QUESTIONS FOR YOU

APPENDIX II H

ADSUBEB member interview

Introduction – researching access, quality, outcomes, and want a richer picture by talking to as many people as possible

1. What are the major **responsibilities** in your job/position?
2. What are the **main access issues** in your view in the state (access, quality, outcomes)?
3. What in your view are the **major reasons** for this/these?
Out-of-school, in-school factors
4. Do these issues affect **some (social) groups** more than others?
Which? Why?
5. How do you think these issues might be addressed?
6. How does **your work** address/relate to these issues?
7. What would make a better experience for pupils? Explain
Any particular social groups affected?
8. What would **improve pupil performance**?
9. What more could be done by the **educational administration** (state & LGA) to improve access, quality & outcomes for pupils?
10. What, in your view, should be the most **urgent priorities** in the state over the next couple of years?

ASK WHETHER THEY HAVE ANY QUESTIONS FOR YOU

APPENDIX II J

Classroom observation schedule

School :	Year & class:	Date:
Subject:	Topic:	
Time:	Duration of lesson:	
Teacher initials:	Female/male:	
No of pupils:	No of girls:	No of boys:
No of (or ratio?) of pupils according to religion/ethnicity/language		No of (or percentage) of overage pupils

Classroom (*location? size? condition? chalkboard? furniture? windows? What's on the wall?*):

Seating arrangements (*how many pupils per seat? Note isolated pupils or crowded seats. Draw below if possible*):

Pupil grouping (*according to gender or other social groups? Who sits at the front, back & side?*) :

Textbooks and other materials such as pencils, bags (*Number? Who has/has not & who shares?*):

Pupil preparation (*appearance, possession of pencil, exercise book etc*):

Draw classroom (including pupil and teacher positions, chalkboard, windows, door)

During the lesson, note the teacher and pupil activities (and their timings), making comments in the third column, about the research issues noted below:

Note also **critical incidents** (examples of particular incidences of pupil discouragement, gender-differentiated behaviours, expectations, language, abuse etc.) and relevant **quotes**, and **questions raised** to ask about later.

Mins	T (teacher) activity	P (pupil) activity	Comments/quotes

After the lesson write up a paragraph (or more) on these same issues based on your overall impression of the lesson.

Teacher activity

Main language of instruction (*and other languages*)

Main teaching activities (*whole-class question and answer, individual questions, choral repetition*)

Level of difficulty of the lesson (*too easy, too difficult, about right*)

Position in the classroom (*fixed or moving around*)

Physical position in relation to students & mannerisms (*intimidating / supportive*)

Teacher voice (*loud/soft, audible to all pupils, use of language, abusive language, tone, content*)

Feedback to students (*correction, praise, responding to or ignoring contributions, correction of homework*)

Use of questions (*types of questions – closed or open, yes/no or wh-, to whom, how often; pointing to pupils/naming/shouting out*)

Amount of teacher talk (*monologue or more interactive*)

Use of teaching aids (*visual aids, textbooks*)

Discipline (*who did the teacher discipline and how?*)

Teacher response to pupil bullying, discrimination?
Class management (*moving pupils, grouping pupils etc*)

Pupil activity (in relation to the teacher)

Teacher – pupil interaction (*characterise – positive, negative, cooperative – Give Examples*)
Pupil behaviour (*if poor, which pupils and in what ways?*)
Pupils participation (*to what degree were pupils engaged, who participated verbally*)
Teacher respond to pupil questions according to gender (*or other social groups*)
Pupil grouping (*whole class, individual or in groups - if so, what kind of groupings?*)
Pupil tasks (*answering questions, repeating, writing, reading*)
Pupils asking teacher questions? (*How often? Which pupils?*)
Pupil understanding (*How much of the lesson, and which pupils?*)

Pupil–pupil interaction

Interactions between boys and girls (*Do boys and girls get on or not? Give examples*)
Interactions between other social groups (*Is age, ethnicity, religion, social background a factor in pupil interactions? Give examples.*)
Teasing/bullying (*within gender groups and/or across? Verbal, emotional or physical*)
Pupil interruption in class (*Do any pupils interrupt others in class? Who interrupts who?*)

APPENDIX II K

School observation sheet

School name	
-------------	--

Following observations around the school compound and prompted by the questions below write a few sentences in each box

<p>Location and infrastructure (Also see School and community profile sheet)</p> <p>Is the school near a road, bus stop or market?</p> <p>Is the school compound fenced? Is there a school gate?</p> <p>Is the compound clean and tidy? Is it decorated?</p> <p>Does the school compound include sports fields? a playground? an assembly ground?</p> <p>Is there any cultivation on the school compound? What is cultivated?</p> <p>How many classrooms are there? Are there grades without a classroom? Which ones?</p> <p>Is there a dedicated staff room? Head teacher's office? Administration office?</p> <p>What is the general condition of all the rooms (walls, doors, windows)?</p> <p>What is displayed on the walls of each type of room?</p> <p>What is the condition of the furniture in all the rooms?</p> <p>How many toilets are on the compound? Are there dedicated toilets for girls, boys, male and female staff?</p> <p>What is the condition of these toilet buildings? Are they clean? Are they safe to use?</p> <p>Is there water on the school compound? Where does it come from? Who collects it? Where is it stored?</p> <p>Is there electricity on this compound? To what extent is it used in the school? How constant is the supply?</p> <p>Are there teachers' houses on the compound? How many? Who lives in them?</p> <p>Are there any other buildings or resources on the school site?</p>

Social interactions

What goes on in the school compound during lesson time? Are there many pupils or teachers **out of class** during lesson time? What are they doing?

Do pupils **leave** the compound during school hours (e.g. at break)? Where do they go?

What **formal school activities** take place in the school compound?

How are pupils organised for formal activities in the school compound (e.g. assembly / class lines)?

How do the **pupils** use the compound at break time? What kinds of activities do the pupils do?

What kinds of pupils **group** together? What groups of pupils stay away from each other?

Do different pupils do different kinds of activities? Do they occupy different places and amounts of space in the compound?

Are there any signs of **teasing/bullying** or **fighting**? Who appear to be the perpetrators/victims?

Is there any intervention by teachers, prefects, other pupils?

Where do **teachers** go at break times? Do they interact with the pupils? What kinds of interactions?

How do the teachers use the staff room? How do the teachers use the compound?

Which teachers group together or stay away from each other? Do they occupy different places and amounts of space?

How do the teachers relate to each other? Where do teachers go if they are not teaching during lesson time?

Do pupils have specific **duties/jobs** to do in and around the school compound (*cleaning, bell-ringing, digging*)? Are particular duties carried out by specific kinds of pupils?

Do teachers have specific duties/jobs to do in and around the school compound (*supervision, discipline, sports*)? Are particular duties carried out by specific kinds of teachers?

Apart from teachers and pupils who is allowed in to the compound? What kinds of people are they?

Is there a controlled **school gate**? Who controls it? What time does it open and close?

What happens if a student comes late to school?

Are there **hawkers** or **traders** around the school gate or compound? Who else hangs around the school gate?

Are there many parents or community members on the school compound at any time? When? Why are they there? What are they doing?

What kinds of interactions do these visitors / passers-by have with the teachers? pupils?

Have you observed any **critical incidents** in and around the school?

APPENDIX II L

School and community profile

Use the following sources of information (among others) to complete the following school and community profile:

On the community: census information, health surveys and statistics, household surveys (e.g. mortality rates, average age of women for their first pregnancy, HIV rates), socio-economic surveys, from the relevant local government offices.

On the school: school policies on admission (and readmission), codes of conduct and discipline of teachers and pupils (including punctuality, absenteeism), school uniforms, roles and responsibilities, guidelines for parents.

Basic school information

Name of school:	
Foundation of the school: (<i>when, by whom</i>)	
Size of catchment: (<i>usual & furthest distance pupils come from</i>)	
School levies/contributions:	
Curriculum subjects taught:	
Extra-curricular activities (<i>sports teams, clubs</i>):	

Infrastructure

General condition of school buildings and grounds	
Administration block (<i>no of rooms & condition</i>)	
Number of classrooms & condition	
Classroom furniture	
Toilet facilities (<i>numbers, gender-segregated or communal, condition</i>)	
Library	
Sports facilities	
Staffroom (<i>size, furniture</i>)	
Other facilities (<i>prayer rooms, hall, computer room, library</i>)	

School policies

Note the main features of these policies, particularly with regard to differentiation by gender or other social category.

Admission and readmission policy for pupils	
Code of conduct for staff	
Disciplinary action against staff	
School regulations for pupils (<i>absenteeism, punctuality, behaviour in & out of class</i>)	
Disciplinary practices on pupils (<i>especially use of corporal punishment</i>)	
Procedures for electing/appointing school prefects & monitors	
Procedures for allocating school tasks (<i>e.g. cleaning, ringing school bell</i>)	
School uniform (<i>note gender differences</i>)	
Guidelines for parents (<i>e.g. financial and other contributions to school, uniforms etc.</i>)	

Staff**Headteacher**

Initials:	F/M	religion	ethnicity	language(s):
Qualifications:				
No of years in teaching:				
No of years as a head teacher:				
No of years in the present school:				

Teachers

Number of teachers :		Female:	Male:	TOTAL:
Teacher qualifications: (No of teachers with each qualification by gender):		Female:	Male:	TOTAL:
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
Teacher positions of responsibility:	F/M	Ethnicity	Qualifications	Years of experience
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
Number of administrative and other staff		Female:	Male:	TOTAL:

Community and school

PTA members (<i>numbers by gender/religion/ethnicity/community role</i>):	
Dates of last three meetings:	
Main issues for the PTA (<i>use data from interviews & minutes of last meetings</i>):	
SBMC members (<i>numbers by gender/religion/ethnicity/community role</i>):	
Dates of last three meetings:	
Main issues for SBMC (<i>use data from interviews & minutes of last meetings</i>):	

Locality and community

Town or Village/ District /Zone:	
Population of local community:	
Physical location of community (<i>proximity to main road, river, border, etc.</i>):	
Main community buildings/areas (<i>markets, places of worship, medical facilities etc.</i>):	
Main health issues, illnesses:	
Predominant religion(s):	
Main ethnic group(s):	
Main languages spoken:	
Main socio-economic grouping(s):	
Periods when seasonal labour is in demand: (<i>e.g. harvesting</i>)	
Main parental/family occupation/income sources:	

APPENDIX II M

Pupil statistics form

School Name	
--------------------	--

Enrolments

2007-2008	Muslim		Christian		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Primary 1					
Primary 2					
Primary 3					
Primary 4					
Primary 5					
Primary 6					
SUB TOTAL					
Total					

2008-2009	Muslim		Christian		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Primary 1					
Primary 2					
Primary 3					
Primary 4					
Primary 5					
Primary 6					
SUB TOTAL					
Total					

2009-2010	Muslim		Christian		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Primary 1					
Primary 2					

Primary 3					
Primary 4					
Primary 5					
Primary 6					
SUB TOTAL					
Total					

2010-2011	Muslim		Christian		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Primary 1					
Primary 2					
Primary 3					
Primary 4					
Primary 5					
Primary 6					
SUB TOTAL					
Total					

Summary of patterns:

Overage pupils (number in each pupil group)

2007-2008	Born before Sept 1st	Muslim		Christian		Total
		Female	Male	Female	Male	
Primary 1	2002					
Primary 2	2001					
Primary 3	2000					
Primary 4	1999					
Primary 5	1998					
Primary 6	1997					
SUB TOTAL						
Total						

2008-2009	Born before Sept 1st	Muslim		Christian		Total
		Female	Male	Female	Male	
Primary 1	2003					
Primary 2	2002					
Primary 3	2001					
Primary 4	2000					
Primary 5	1999					
Primary 6	1998					
SUB TOTAL						
Total						

2009-2010	Born before Sept 1 st	Muslim		Christian		Total
		Female	Male	Female	Male	
Primary 1	2004					
Primary 2	2003					
Primary 3	2002					
Primary 4	2001					
Primary 5	2000					
Primary 6	1999					
SUB TOTAL						
Total						

2010-2011	Born before Sept 1st	Muslim		Christian		Total
		Female	Male	Female	Male	
Primary 1	2005					
Primary 2	2004					
Primary 3	2003					
Primary 4	2002					
Primary 5	2001					
Primary 6	2000					
SUB TOTAL						
Total						

Absences (average number of days absent per term according to pupil group)

2007-2008	FIRST TERM					SECOND TERM					THIRD TERM					TOTAL
	Muslim		Christian		Total	Muslim		Christian		Total	Muslim		Christian		Total	
	F	M	F	M		F	M	F	M		F	M				
Primary 1																
Primary 2																
Primary 3																
Primary 4																
Primary 5																
Primary 6																
Sub total																
Total																

2008-2009	FIRST TERM					SECOND TERM					THIRD TERM					TOTAL
	Muslim		Christian		Total	Muslim		Christian		Total	Muslim		Christian		Total	
	F	M	F	M		F	M	F	M		F	M				
Primary 1																
Primary 2																
Primary 3																
Primary 4																
Primary 5																
Primary 6																
Sub total																
Total																

2009-2010	FIRST TERM					SECOND TERM					THIRD TERM					TOTAL
	Muslim		Christian		Total	Muslim		Christian		Total	Muslim		Christian		Total	
	F	M	F	M		F	M	F	M		F	M				
Primary 1																
Primary 2																
Primary 3																
Primary 4																
Primary 5																
Primary 6																
Sub total																
Total																

Summary of patterns:

Dropouts

2007-2008	Muslim		Christian		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Primary 1					
Primary 2					
Primary 3					
Primary 4					
Primary 5					
Primary 6					
SUB TOTAL					

Total					
2008-2009	Muslim		Christian		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Primary 1					
Primary 2					
Primary 3					
Primary 4					
Primary 5					
Primary 6					
SUB TOTAL					
Total					

2009-2010	Muslim		Christian		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Primary 1					
Primary 2					
Primary 3					
Primary 4					
Primary 5					
Primary 6					
SUB TOTAL					
Total					

Summary of patterns:

Performance in Primary 6 exam total:

2007-2008	Muslim		Christian		
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Overall
average mark					
range of marks					
2008-2009	Muslim		Christian		
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Overall
average mark					
range of marks					
2009-2010	Muslim		Christian		
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Overall
average mark					
range of marks					

range of marks = lowest and highest marks for each category

APPENDIX III

ANALYTICAL GRIDS

- III A Grid 1 In the classroom
- III B Grid 2 In the compound
- III C Grid 3 In the school (outside the classroom)
- III D Grid 4 In the community
- III E Grid 5 In the LGEA
- III F Teacher interviews pre-grid summary

APPENDIX III A

School Theme Analytical Grid 1

SCHOOL: IN THE CLASSROOM

Analysis **MUST** include comment on differentiation by gender, religion, (over-) age & where data is available by ethnicity, language group and lifestyle. Also include useful **QUOTES**.

RESPONDENT GROUP	Researcher observations	Pupil views	Others A Views
A. In the classroom			
Seating arrangements number and arrangements of desks and benches. Number of pupils per bench (gender, religion, over-age, overcrowding)			
Classroom condition (board, furniture, walls, windows, floor)			
Resources (textbooks, teaching aids, wall display, exercise books, pens, pencils, chalk)			
Pedagogy (teacher–pupil relations, teacher talk, questioning – choral repetition, individual questions, board work, use of resources, group work, pupil participation, pupil concentration/ understanding, classroom management, use of monitors/ prefects)			
Discipline (praise, rewards, punishment, corporal punishment, verbal reprimand, other disciplinary practices e.g. moving a pupil / sending them out)			
Pupil – pupil relations (teasing, harassment, silencing, borrowing/ lending materials, physical contact, disciplining, humour, exclusion, use of space, interaction with monitors / prefects)			

RESPONDENT GROUP	Teacher views	Head teacher views	SBMC views
A. In-classroom			
Seating arrangements number and arrangements of desks and benches. Number of pupils per bench (gender, religion, over-age, overcrowding)			
Classroom condition (board, furniture, walls, windows, floor)			
Resources (books, teaching aids, wall display, Exercise books, pens pencils, chalk)			
Pedagogy (teacher – pupil relations, teacher talk, questioning – choral repetition, individual questions, board work, use of resources, group work, pupil participation, pupil concentration/ understanding, classroom management, use of monitors/ prefects)			
Discipline (praise, rewards, punishment, corporal punishment, verbal reprimand, other disciplinary practices e.g. moving a pupil / sending them out)			
Pupil – pupil relations (teasing, harassment, silencing, borrowing/ lending materials, physical contact, disciplining, humour, exclusion, use of space.)			

RESPONDENT GROUP	PTA views	Parent views	Community leader views
A. In-classroom			
Seating arrangements number and arrangements of desks and benches. Number of pupils per bench (gender, religion, over-age, overcrowding)			
Classroom condition (board, furniture, walls, windows, floor)			
Resources (books, teaching aids, wall display, exercise books, pens pencils, chalk)			
Pedagogy (teacher – pupil relations, teacher talk, questioning – choral repetition, individual questions, board work, use of resources, group work, pupil participation, pupil concentration/ understanding, classroom management, use of monitors/ prefects)			
Discipline (praise, rewards, punishment, corporal punishment, verbal reprimand, other disciplinary practices e.g. moving a pupil / sending them out)			
Pupil–pupil relations (teasing, harassment, silencing, borrowing/ lending materials, physical contact, disciplining, humour, exclusion, use of space)			

RESPONDENT GROUP	Education Secretary views	School Supervisor views	Other B Views
A. In-classroom			
Seating arrangements number and arrangements of desks and benches. Number of pupils per bench (<i>gender, religion, over-age, overcrowding</i>)			
Classroom condition (<i>board, furniture, walls, windows, floor</i>)			
Resources (<i>books, teaching aids, wall display, Exercise books, pens pencils, chalk</i>)			
Pedagogy (<i>teacher–pupil relations, teacher talk, questioning – choral repetition, individual questions, board work, use of resources, group work, pupil participation, pupil concentration/ understanding, classroom management, use of monitors/ prefects</i>)			
Discipline (<i>praise, rewards, punishment, corporal punishment, verbal reprimand, other disciplinary practices e.g. moving a pupil / sending them out</i>)			
Pupil–pupil relations (<i>teasing, harassment, silencing, borrowing/ lending materials, physical contact, disciplining, humour, exclusion, use of space</i>)			

APPENDIX III B

School Theme Analytical Grid 2

SCHOOL: IN THE COMPOUND

Analysis **MUST** include comment on differentiation by gender, religion, (over-) age & where data is available by ethnicity, language group and lifestyle.

Also include useful **QUOTES**.

RESPONDENT GROUP	Researcher observations	Pupil views	Other A views
B. In the compound			
Compound condition (entrances, exits, toilets, walls/fencing, water, shade, cleanliness, other buildings, cultivation, trees, sports fields)			
Official routines (assembly, pupil lines, bells, flag raising, lessons outside)			
Teacher activities (teacher – teacher interactions, grouping, location, teacher- pupil relations, disciplining , moving on and off compound, enacting duties and responsibilities)			
Pupil–pupil relations (activities, playing, teasing, bullying, harassment, physical contact, disciplining, humour, exclusion, grouping – gender, religion , age)			
Security the gate (type, guarded, when open & closed, who gets in, discipline , loitering, non-school related access, roads or pathways). Outsiders (activities, hawking, driving, dumping, loitering, sports, other, parents coming in - who, what for and when).			

RESPONDENT GROUP	Teacher views	Head teacher views	SBMC views
B. In the compound			
Compound condition (entrances, exits, toilets, walls/fencing, water, shade, cleanliness, other buildings, cultivation, trees, sports fields)			
Official routines (assembly, pupil lines, bells, flag raising, lessons outside)			
Teacher activities (teacher – teacher interactions, grouping, location, teacher – pupil relations, disciplining , moving on and off compound, enacting duties and responsibilities)			
Pupil–pupil relations (activities, playing, teasing, bullying, harassment, physical contact, disciplining, humour, exclusion, grouping – gender, religion , age)			
Security the gate (type, guarded, when open & closed, who gets in, discipline , loitering, non-school related access, roads or pathways). Outsiders (activities, hawking, driving, dumping, loitering, sports, other, parents coming in - who, what for and when).			

RESPONDENT GROUP	PTA Views	Parents Views	Community Stakeholder Views
B. In the compound			
Compound condition (entrances, exits, toilets, walls/fencing, water, shade, cleanliness, other buildings, cultivation, trees, sports fields)			
Official routines (assembly, pupil lines, bells, flag raising, lessons outside)			
Teacher activities (teacher – teacher interactions, grouping, location, teacher- pupil relations, disciplining , moving on and off compound, enacting duties and responsibilities)			
Pupil–pupil relations (activities, playing, teasing, bullying, harassment, physical contact, disciplining, humour, exclusion, grouping – gender, religion , age)			
Security the gate (type, guarded, when open & closed, who gets in, discipline , loitering, non-school related access, roads or pathways). Outsiders (activities, hawking, driving, dumping, loitering, sports, other, parents coming in - who, what for and when).			

RESPONDENT GROUP	Education Secretary views	School Supervisor views	Other B views
B. In the compound			
Compound condition (entrances, exits, toilets, walls/fencing, water, shade, cleanliness, other buildings, cultivation, trees, sports fields)			
Official routines (assembly, pupil lines, bells, flag raising, lessons outside)			
Teacher activities (teacher–teacher interactions, grouping, location, teacher–pupil relations, disciplining , moving on and off compound, enacting duties and responsibilities)			
Pupil–pupil relations (activities, playing, teasing, bullying, harassment, physical contact, disciplining, humour, exclusion, grouping – gender, religion , age)			
Security the gate (type, guarded, when open & closed, who gets in, discipline , loitering, non-school related access, roads or pathways). Outsiders (activities, hawking, driving, dumping, loitering, sports, other, parents coming in - who, what for and when).			

APPENDIX III C

School theme analytical grid 3

School: school issues (outside the classroom)

Analysis **MUST** include comment on differentiation by gender, religion, (over-) age & where data is available by ethnicity, language group and lifestyle. Also include useful **QUOTES**.

RESPONDENT GROUP	Researcher observations	Pupil views	Other A views
C. School issues (outside the classroom)			
School facilities (<i>condition, facilities e.g. library, ICT, electricity, water, toilets, maintenance, cleaning, other uses</i>)			
School management of staff (<i>including non-teaching staff) staffing, timetable & shifts, teacher duties, support, professionalism outside classroom, absenteeism, discipline, sanctions, head teacher – teacher relations</i>)			
School management of pupils (<i>uniform, duties, prefect and monitors, informal activities, child labour in school, discipline</i>)			

RESPONDENT GROUP	Teacher views	Head teacher views	SBMC views
C. School issues (outside the classroom)			
School facilities (condition, facilities e.g. library, ICT, electricity, water, toilets, maintenance, cleaning, other uses)			
School management of staff (including non-teaching staff) staffing, timetable & shifts, teacher duties, support, professionalism outside classroom, absenteeism, discipline , sanctions, head teacher – teacher relations)			
School management of pupils (uniform, duties, prefect and monitors, informal activities, child labour in school, discipline)			

RESPONDENT GROUP	PTA Views	Parents Views	Community Stakeholder Views
C. Other School Issues			
School facilities (condition, facilities e.g. library, ICT, electricity, water, toilets, maintenance, cleaning, other uses)			

School management of staff (including non-teaching staff) staffing, timetable & shifts, teacher duties, support, professionalism outside classroom, absenteeism, discipline , sanctions, head teacher–teacher relations)			
School management of pupils (uniform, duties, prefect and monitors, informal activities, child labour in school, discipline)			

RESPONDENT GROUP	Education Secretary Views	School Supervisor Views	Other B Views
C. School issues (outside the classroom)			
School facilities (condition, facilities e.g. library, ICT, electricity, water, toilets, maintenance, cleaning, other uses)			
School management of staff (including non-teaching staff) staffing, timetable & shifts, teacher duties, support, professionalism outside classroom, absenteeism, discipline , sanctions, Head teacher – teacher relations)			
School management of pupils (uniform, duties, prefect and monitors, informal activities, child labour in school, discipline)			

APPENDIX III D

Community Theme Analytical Grid 4

Community and family

Analysis **MUST** include comment on differentiation by gender, religion, (over-) age & where data is available by ethnicity, language group and lifestyle.

Also include useful **QUOTES** and examples.

RESPONDENT GROUP	Researcher observations	Pupil views	Other A views
D. Community			
Socio-economic activities (<i>commercial /agricultural occupations, seasonal / migratory labour, household labour, child responsibilities, child labour</i>)			
Family (<i>size, family forms, head of household, home conditions, distance from school, discipline, parenting, elders, health, family cohesion with community</i>)			
Religion and ethnicity (<i>religious and ethnic rituals, coming of age, marriage, child birth, views on formal state schooling</i>)			
Educational choice (<i>range of educational provision e.g. private, Islamic, Islamiyya, school choice, choice of child sent to school</i>)			
Community–school relations (<i>community participation in school e.g. PTA, SBMC, LG Committee, other education networks, payment of fees and levies, provision of school uniform, pupil learning and progress, contact with case school/ head/ teachers; complaints & other connections to school – formal & informal</i>)			

RESPONDENT GROUP	Teacher views	Head teacher views	SBMC views
D. Community			
Socio-economic activities (<i>commercial /agric occupations, seasonal / migratory labour, household labour, child responsibilities, child labour</i>)			
Family (<i>size, family forms, Head of Household, home conditions, distance from school, discipline, parenting, elders, health, family cohesion with community</i>)			
Religion and ethnicity (<i>religious and ethnic rituals, coming of age, marriage, child birth, views on formal state schooling</i>)			
Educational choice (<i>range of educational provision e.g. private, Islamic, Islamiyya, school choice, choice of child sent to school</i>)			
Community–school relations (<i>community participation in school e.g. PTA, SBMC, LG Committee, other education networks, payment of fees and levies, provision of school uniform, pupil learning and progress, contact with case school/ head/ teachers; complaints & other connections to school – formal & informal</i>)			

RESPONDENT GROUP	PTA views	Parent views	Community leader views
D. Community			
Socio-economic activities (commercial /agricultural occupations, seasonal / migratory labour, household labour, child responsibilities, child labour)			
Family (size, family forms, head of household, home conditions, distance from school, discipline, parenting, elders, health, family cohesion with community)			
Religion and ethnicity (religious and ethnic rituals, coming of age, marriage, child birth, views on formal state schooling)			
Educational choice (range of educational provision e.g. private, Islamic, Islamiyya, school choice, choice of child sent to school)			
Community-school relations (community participation in school e.g. PTA, SBMC, LG Committee, other education networks, fees and levies, provision of school uniform, pupil learning and progress, contact with case school/ head/ teachers; complaints & other connections to school – formal & informal)			

RESPONDENT GROUP	Education Secretary views	School Supervisor views	Other B views
D. Community			
Socio-economic activities (commercial /agricultural occupations, seasonal / migratory labour, household labour, child responsibilities, child labour)			
Family (size, family forms, head of household, home conditions, distance from school, discipline, parenting, elders, health, family cohesion with community)			
Religion and ethnicity (religious and ethnic rituals, coming of age, marriage, child birth, views on formal state schooling)			
Educational choice (range of educational provision e.g. private, Islamic, Islamiyya, school choice, choice of child sent to school)			
Community-school relations (community participation in school e.g. PTA, SBMC, LG Committee, other education networks, payment of fees and levies, provision of school uniform, pupil learning and progress, contact with case school/ head/ teachers; complaints & other connections to school – formal & informal).			

APPENDIX III F

Teacher interviews pre-grid summary (sample of first 20 questions)

School:

Teacher initials, gender & religion	T 1	T2	T3	T4	T5
Class observed					
Subject observed					
Teaching experience (yrs)					
Yrs in this school					
Responsibilities in school					
Pre-service training (course/college)					
In-service training					
Main language(s)					
Other languages					
Ethnicity					

1. What do you **like** most about your job?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

2. What do you **dislike** most about your job?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

3. What do you think makes a **good teacher**?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

4. What would most help you to do your job even better?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

5. What do you think are the **biggest challenges** for this school?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

6. How do you think these might be addressed? (*and by whom?*)

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

7. What are the main **obstacles to pupil learning** in the classroom?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

8. How do you think these might be addressed? (*and by whom?*)

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

9. How do you find **teaching in English**? Do you sometimes use a **Nigerian language** as well?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

10. What do pupils think about learning in English?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

11. Are pupils often **late** for school? Which groups? Why? Do their families know?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

12. What could be done to improve **punctuality**?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

13. What is pupil **attendance** like in this school? What are the reasons? Do their families know?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

14. Are there particular groups of pupils (*gender/ethnic/religious etc.*) who tend to have poor attendance? What are the reasons?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

15. What could be done to improve attendance?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

16. Do you have any pupils who have **missed a whole term** or has not come to school this term?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

17. Do you have many **repeaters**? Which social groups?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

18. What could be done about it?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

19. Do you have many **overage** pupils in your class? Which social groups? Why?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

20. How are they treated by other pupils?

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
----	----	----	----	----

The Research Team:

Máiréad Dunne

Centre for International Education,
University of Sussex, UK.

Sara Humphreys

Centre for International Education,
University of Sussex.

Moses Dauda

Modibbo Adama University of Technology,
Yola, Adamawa State, Nigeria.

Jiddere Kaibo

Federal College of Education,
Yola, Adamawa State, Nigeria.

with

Ayo Garuba

Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University,
Niger State, Nigeria.